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ART. I.—THE NEW HIEROGLYPHS OF WESTERN ASIA.

1. *On a New Hamathite Inscription at Ibrees.* By the Rev. E. J. DAVIS, M.A. *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* IV. ii. (London, 1876.)
2. *On the Hamathite Inscriptions.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A. *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* V. i. (London, 1876.)
3. *The Monuments of the Hittites, with Sketch Map, three Plates, and Cuts.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE.—*The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondemos.* By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE. *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* VII. ii. (London, 1881.)
4. *The Inscribed Stones from Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, &c.* By W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A. *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* VII. iii. (London, 1882.)
5. *Die Kultur der Hethiter (Die Semit. Völk. u. Sprach.).* By FRITZ HOMMEL. (Leipzig, 1883.)
6. *The Ancient Empires of the East: App. iv. Lydia.* By A. H. SAYCE. (London, 1883.)
7. *The Empire of the Hittites.* By W. WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. (London, 1884.)

As long ago as 1812 the well-known Burckhardt saw at *Hamāh*, in Syria, the ancient Hamath, a stone inscribed with strange hieroglyphics, as he mentions in his *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822, pp. 146-7). His statement attracted no great attention at the time, and it was not until 1870 that Mr. J. A. Johnson gave an account of 'Inscriptions discovered at Hamath in Northern Syria,' which was reproduced in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* from that of the American Society, in which it first

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appeared (July 1871). In June of the same year Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake took squeezes of the inscriptions, but failed in an attempt to photograph them. Lastly, in 1872, the Rev. W. Wright, then a missionary stationed at Damascus, and now the secretary of the Bible Society, succeeded, with the potent assistance of Subhi Pasha, the Governor of Syria, in taking duplicate casts of four¹ stones, one set of which was sent to the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the other to the British Museum. The stones themselves were forwarded to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. Great credit is due to Mr. Wright for the characteristic energy and perseverance displayed in the execution of a task which was rendered unusually anxious and arduous by Moslem fanaticism. A spirited account of how it was done may be read in the opening chapter of his book. The interest of archæologists was now thoroughly awakened, and public curiosity was increased by the sketches and descriptions given in Messrs. R. F. Burton and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake's *Unexplored Syria*, which appeared in 1872, and gave also a copy of a similar inscription found at Aleppo and since destroyed by the natives. In 1873 the Rev. W. Hayes Ward, D.D., published a paper upon 'The Hamath Inscriptions' in the *Second Statement* of the American Palestine Exploration Society, with plates, and a 'List of Hamathite Hieroglyphics,' which, in 1876, was reproduced by Professor Sayce, and compared with certain 'Kypriote characters' in the second of the papers prefixed to the present review. Attempts had already been made by the Rev. Dunbar I. Heath, Mr. Hyde Clarke, and others, to solve the enigma of the inscriptions; but the results of their labours can hardly be taken seriously by the scientific philologist. Indeed, Mr. Sayce began his paper with a frank confession that it would be a paper 'rather of conjectures than of facts,' and an admission that 'we have no clue to the interpretation of the inscriptions known as Hamathite.' His list of Hamathite and Cypriote characters, comprising in all fifty-six of the former and thirty-

¹ There are five casts, two of which belong to one stone. The lithographs published by Mr. Rylands in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, and again in the appendix to Mr. Wright's book, imply great care and skill in the execution of a very difficult task. Comparing them with the casts, line by line and symbol by symbol, we met with a few apparent errors in the earlier copies, most, though not all, of which we found corrected in the later. But in some instances, especially in the worn inscription H.V., Mr. Rylands seems to have dealt too freely in conjectural emendation. Moreover, the roundness and fulness of outline, characteristic of the figures of the casts in their present condition, are hardly suggested by the somewhat stiff and formal precision of the copies. Photographs would probably give a truer impression.

eight of the latter, supplies a forcible illustration of the fact. In most of the instances it is exceedingly difficult to see any real resemblance between these characters; while the 'Hamathite' of the list differs considerably from that of the monuments. The identification of the objects represented is equally uncertain. The 'beetle,' the 'bee,' the 'boat,' the 'water flowing from a vase,' find no place in the inscriptions, and were obviously suggested by Egyptian analogies. We need not linger over Mr. Sayce's guesses at the significance of particular characters, most of which are contradicted in his later articles, and some of which are self-contradictory. As he tells us himself in his more elaborate essay, the only inscribed monuments known at the time when this paper was written were (1) five short inscriptions from Hamah, three of which were almost identical; (2) eight clay impressions of seals,¹ found by Mr. Layard in the palace at Kouyunjik; (3) a half-obliterated inscription from Aleppo, consisting of two short lines; (4) a rock-inscription at Ibreez, in what was anciently Lycaonia, copied first by Major Fischer in 1838, and subsequently by the Rev. E. J. Davis, in which, however, only a character here and there could be recognized.² This paucity of materials did not hinder Mr. Sayce from proceeding with his heroic attempts at decipherment; but almost the only assertions of this first paper which are beyond challenge are (1) the remark, after Dr. Hayes Ward, that the inscriptions are to be read *boustrophædon*, starting from the direction towards which the heads are facing, and then proceeding from right to left, and from left to right, in alternate lines (a method exemplified in some of the old Greek inscriptions); (2) the statement that the writing is not alphabetical, and that it is probably 'a mixed system like that which meets us in the inscriptions of Egypt or Assyria'—a fact which is, however, pretty evident upon a first inspection of the documents; (3) the statement that some of the characters, while possessing their own peculiarities, present a marked resemblance to signs familiar to the Egyptologist, *eg.* the oval character which in this paper Mr. Sayce supposed might be 'the determinative of cities or countries,' but which he afterwards explained as the prefix of divinity. But Mr. Sayce is anxious to determine the

¹ It is incorrect to say that *four* of these are identical. Two are wrongly copied in the lithographs.

² The British Museum now possesses, besides a number of mere fragments, three considerable, though incomplete, inscriptions, in a similar but not identical script, which were brought from *Girbās*, or *Gerābis*, on the Euphrates, the ancient Oropus or Agropus, identified by Friedrich Delitzsch, Sayce, and others, with Carchemish.

nationality of these curious relics of antiquity. Accordingly, after suggesting that 'the writing was invented by an early population of northern Syria, and that its occurrence at Ibreez is probably due to Syrian conquest'—the latter, at least, a very unlikely supposition, judging by the subject of the sculpture itself—he proceeds to observe that it is 'extremely likely' that the inventors of this peculiar script 'belonged to the great Hittite race,' a conjecture anticipated by the Rev. W. Wright in a paper which appeared in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* (1874). We agree with Mr. Sayce that the Hamathite hieroglyphics were probably not the invention of a Semitic people, hieroglyphic writing being ill adapted to the needs of inflexional speech. But we must distinguish between a people inventing and a people borrowing and adapting such a system. The Semitic Babylonians found it not impossible to borrow the script of their non-Semitic predecessors, the Sumero-Accadians; and, according to Mr. Sayce, the Cypriote syllabary is 'a late and corrupt form' of this 'Hamathite' system. We cannot see that it has at all been made out that the people of Hamath or Carchemish must be credited with the invention of this remarkable script. As well might it be argued that the Stone of Dibon proves that the Phenician character was an invention of the Moabites.

Mr. Sayce proceeds to show that the Hittites, 'or, at all events, the main part of them'—a significant qualification—'spoke dialects that were not inflexional,' and therefore not Semitic. In the absence of any historical statements to this effect, and our complete ignorance of the language of the monuments assumed to be of Hittite origin, he relies on the evidence of the proper names found in the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. We must, however, demur, *in limine*, to the statement that 'the Assyrian inscriptions, being themselves Semitic, would represent foreign Semitic words in a recognizably Semitic form.' It seems to us that this is just what the Assyrian inscriptions often fail to do; inasmuch that, if we did not know beforehand what to look for, the Assyrian spellings of Israelite names might sometimes be taken for 'Hittite.' Mr. Sayce illustrates his assumption by the name Carchemish, which he says cannot possibly mean 'fortress of Chemosh,' as the Hebrew spelling suggests, because in Assyrian the name is always written Gargamis. We reply not always; Tiglath Pileser I. writes also Kar-ga-mis. Moreover, the Egyptian transcriptions Qairqamāsha and Kirkemish suggest Qar or Qir Kamōsh, town of Chemosh. The Assyrian softening of the hard mute may easily be paralleled from the

cuneiform texts. But whether this name signifies 'Chemosh-town' or not, we are not driven to a 'Hittite' etymology. It *may* signify 'fortress of Mish'; Mish or Mash being a deity, whose name is perhaps to be connected with Mas or Mash, which appears to have been the Assyrian designation of the Syro-Arabian desert, or of that part of it which lay along the west bank of the Euphrates. The name *Kerak-Mish* is then quite similar to Kerak-Moab. Stephanus Byzantinus, s. v. *Oropus*, confirms this derivation, for he says that Oropus (the modern *Jirbās-Jerābīs* from which the inscriptions in the British Museum were brought) was anciently called Telmessus—i.e. as it would seem, תל מיש, 'mound of Mish.'¹ (It is curious to find a Telmissus on the coast of Lycia.)

Mr. Wright, who has drawn largely upon Professor Sayce's dissertations—and whose book is, indeed, little more than a popular compilation from Brugsch Bey's *History of Egypt*, Mr. Sayce's articles, and the *Records of the Past*—follows his leader in asserting the non-Semitic affinities of Hittite speech. At the same time Mr. Wright assumes the part of a champion of orthodoxy as against Mr. Cheyne,² and offers his book as a vindication of the strict accuracy of the Bible in matters of ancient history and ethnography. He does not seem to be conscious that the narrative of Abraham's purchase of the Burial-Cave from the *Bnē Hāth* involves a difficulty, if the latter be supposed to have spoken a 'non-inflexional' language. The narrative is long and formally precise, but it gives no hint of an interpreter, such as we meet with in the story of Joseph and his brethren. Yet this chapter (Gen. xxiii.) belongs to the oldest section of the Pentateuch, and consequently was written some centuries before the fall of Carchemish (717 B.C.). The writer, therefore, must have known whether Hittite was a foreign speech unintelligible to Hebrews. Neither here, however, nor in any other place where the Hittites are mentioned in the Old Testament is this said or implied. Besides Carchemish Mr.

¹ See a note in Professor Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. 377.

² The 'manner and progress of unbelief' are not likely to be modified or arrested by such arguments as Mr. Wright levels at Professor F. W. Newman and Mr. Cheyne. He has not even a glimpse of the philological, historical, and critical grounds of their conclusions. The absolute *naïveté* with which he assumes his own competence to decide questions upon which scholars are still debating, and his obvious lack of even a sound acquaintance with Hebrew, perhaps explain each other. We have not thought fit to make these pages a mere record of Mr. Wright's multitudinous blunders; but rarely, if ever, have we encountered so many within the brief compass of two hundred pages.

Sayce mentions 'Helbon or Aleppo,' Kadesh, and Hebron, as Hittite cities. It is strange that each of these names should be explicable from Semitic sources. In the case of the two former towns he suggests that they 'were acquired by conquest from the Semites.' As regards Helbon (Ezek. xxvii. 18) the modern *Halbân* north-west of Damascus, the Assyrian *Hilbunum* (a wine-growing district), Mr. Sayce has confused this town with Haleb or Aleppo, the Assyrian *Halman*, which is not mentioned in the Old Testament. The name seems, like Helbah and Ahlab, to refer to the *fatness* or fertility of the soil. Kadesh, on the Orontes, also is an extra-Biblical town, but its name is a common Canaanite designation, meaning 'holy city.' This name has been read into the text of 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 as an emendation of the corrupt Tahtim-hodshi, after a conjecture of Hitzig's. Mr. Wright, who refers more than once to this passage, observes: 'The Septuagint translated the passage "Gilead and the land of the Hittites of Kadesh." . . . A careful examination of the best Hebrew manuscripts now shows us that the Septuagint reading is correct, and that the barbarous "Tahtim-hodshi" is no other than the Hittite Kadesh or the Orontes, the southern capital of the Hittite empire.' There are several inaccuracies here. Four MSS. of the LXX read *εἰς γῆν Χεττιεῖμ Κάδης*, but there is no known Hebrew variant from the common text. 'The land of the Hittites of Kadesh' is a conjecture which competes with Thenius's 'below the sea of Kedesh,' and Ewald's 'below Hermon.' It is, of course, possible that Hitzig's correction is right, but *hodshi* may be the vestige of a date (*hodesh*, month). Nor is it certain that Kadesh on the Orontes was a Hittite town. It is never so called in the Egyptian inscriptions, which constitute our main source of evidence on the question. They always locate Kadesh in the land of the Amorites. But Mr. Wright can tell us more about this little known city. In his chapter on 'Hittite Religion' he writes: 'In the name Kadesh, the capital of the Hittites, we see one of the numerous shrines, where Hittite girls were devoted to wickedness in the name of religion;' and a note informs us that Kedesh-naphtali and Kadesh-barnea were similar 'shrines.' In another passage allusion is made to 'the gods and goddesses which were derived from Chaldea, and their sacred shrines dedicated to the Kodeshoth [*sic*] or sacred women.' These are merely wild guesses founded upon the term Kadesh. It is preposterous to assume that every town in Syria which bore the name of Kadesh or Kedesh was a seat of the vile worship of the Kedeshim and Kedeshôth (men and women dedicated to pollu-

tion). The simple fact is that we know nothing about Kadesh on the Orontes beyond what the Egyptian monuments tell us, and they say nothing of such a worship.

The name of Hebron is obviously Semitic. It may denote 'league' or 'confederacy,' and may point to the fact that its original population consisted of an association of clans or tribes, perhaps of the Bnê Heth, as they are mentioned in connexion with the place in Gen. xxiii., though it is nowhere expressly said that Hebron was a Hittite city. The old name of the place, Kirjath-arba (Gen. xxiii. 2) may point to the same conclusion (= city of Four Clans).¹ In connexion with Hebron, Mr. Wright and Professor Sayce make a curious mistake. The latter observes: 'M. de Rougé reminds us that Hebron, the Hittite town of Palestine, once bore the name of Kirjath-Sepher, or city of books, a fact which seems to imply that the Semites of the West associated literature and the Hittite race together.' It is plain from the Biblical notices (Josh. x. 38 *sq.*; xii. 13; xv. 15; Judg. i. 11) that Kirjath-Sepher and Hebron were distinct cities, subject to different kings, and that Kirjath-Sepher was the old name of Debir. This is awkward for the supposed literary tastes of the Hittites, because we are not told that Debir or Kirjath-Sepher was a Hittite city. Mr. Wright improves upon this blunder by combining it with another. Referring to an inscription of Ramses II., which records the name of 'Kirab-sar,' or rather Hirpa-sar, 'the writer of the books (or letters) of the wretched king of Heta,' he says (p. 134): 'There is even a contemptuous reference in one of the inscriptions to the literary propensities of the Hittites.' The reference is not, however, contemptuous, but merely describes *Hirpasar* as the royal secretary. As well might we say that the mention of 'the recorder,' in the lists of David and Solomon's great officers of state, is a contemptuous reference to the literary propensities of the Israelites. Kirjath-sepher does not necessarily mean 'Book-town.' *Sepher* may be a *Nomen proprium*; cf. the similar Sephar, 2 Chron. ii. 16, and perhaps the Babylonian *Sipar*, *Sippar*, Sepharvaim. Otherwise, why is it not Kirjath-sepharim, like Kirjath-jearim?

The Bible references to the Hittites are for the most part merely allusive and incidental. In the Table of Nations

¹ Mr. Hommel, a German Assyriologist, considers it very improbable that the Hittite power extended so far to the south in the time of Abraham, which he fixes at circ. 2200 B.C. He maintains that the chapter belongs to 'the post-exilic source, the so-called *Priester-codex*,' and that the oldest tradition only knows of northern Hittites.

(Gen. x. 15) it is said: 'Canaan begat Zidon his first born, and Heth'—a statement assigned by De Wette to the Annalistic Narrator (tenth cent. B.C.), and by Dillmann to the Jehovist or Third Narrator. Clearly, then, the ancient Hebrew writers considered that the 'Children of Heth,' or Hittites, were akin to the Phenicians, and the other Canaanite stocks enumerated in this passage. In Gen. xv. 20 'the Hittite' is again mentioned among the ten peoples whose lands are promised to the seed of Abraham; and the name similarly figures in the various lists of the devoted nations. Sometimes it appears to be used in a wider sense, to denote the Canaanites generally, just as the term Achæans or Argives is used in a comprehensive sense in Homer; and this may be the case in Josh. i. 4, a passage on which Mr. Wright sets great store as exactly defining the territory of the Hittites, and which he strangely misrenders in his attempt to be more accurate than the Authorized Version. We have already spoken of the Hittites established in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Num. xiii. 29 is another passage bearing on the locality of the Hittites: 'Amalek dwelleth in the land of the Negeb; and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the hill country; and the Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and by the side of the Jordan,' cf. Josh. xii. 7 *sq.* But even this is vague enough, the truth being that 'the entering in of Hamath' was the northern limit of the Hebrew monarchy even in its palmiest days; and the land of the Hittites, as we know from Egyptian and Assyrian sources (if the Hittites are to be identified with the *Hetta* and *Hattai*)¹ lay to the north of Hamath, between the Orontes and the Euphrates. We meet with two Hittites in the books of Samuel—Ahimelech the Hittite, who was one of David's band of freebooters, 1 Sam. xxvi. 6, after which he is not mentioned again, and Uriah the Hittite, who was one of the Thirty Champions, 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. Both of these names are pure 'Semitic,' and accordingly present a difficulty on the hypothesis that the Hittites were of the 'Alarodian' stock, as Mr. Sayce supposes. Mr. Wright thinks that 'a Hittite who had thrown in his fortune with King David might be called Ahimelech, *brother* or *friend of the king*, without being of Semitic origin.' But in the first place, David was not king, but an outlaw at the

¹ The identification is, however, far from certain. As Wiedemann observes, the question has often been discussed, but a sure conclusion can hardly be attained, as we know next to nothing of the Biblical Hittites. See his *Aegyptische Geschichte* (p. 435), the last word at present on the history of Egypt (Gotha, 1884).

time when Ahimelech joined him ; and secondly, Ahimelech does not mean *brother of the king*, but is probably a divine title, like so many other Hebrew (and Semitic) proper names, the meaning being *Melech is a kinsman*. Melech, king, was a designation of deity common to the Semitic peoples. Ahimelech is not a mere epithet in Hebrew any more than in Phenician. It is the name of the priest slain at Nob by Doeg the Edomite, and also of a prince of Arvad and a king of Ashdod mentioned by Assurbanipal. The truth is that all the personal names of Hittites, which the Old Testament specifies as such, resemble ordinary Hebrew proper names, and their Semitic aspect is certainly not to be explained by the extraordinary assumption that the Hittites commonly had 'two names, one Semitic and the other Hamitic.' In that case we should have expected some occasional notice of the original 'Hamitic' designation, but the records are, alas ! uniformly silent. Mr. Sayce's list, in the appendix to his elaborate article on *The Monuments of the Hittites*, gives nine personal names, all of which are good Hebrew : viz. Ephron, Zohar, Tou or Toi, Jotham [*sic* ? Joram], Uriah, Judith or Adah [*sic*], Elon, Beeri. The last four names here are taken from Gen. xxvi. 34, and xxxvi. 2. The former passage belongs to the Annalistic Narrator, and states that Esau 'took to wife Judith, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath [Basemath], the daughter of Elon the Hittite.' The other passage, which belongs to the same narrator, but has been modified by the redactor from another source, states that 'Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan : Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite ; and Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter (or son) of Zibeon the Hivite' (leg. Horite) ; 'and Bashemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.' All these names are pure Semitic. In view of this fact, it is curious to learn that 'in Gen. xxxvi. 2, Judith is called Aholibamah, and her father Beeri is called Anah, *which are doubtless their old Hittite names* ; and this may explain the fact which has so much puzzled commentators, that Esau's wives had double names.' 'Ohölibamah, however, which means 'tent of the high-place,' is good Hebrew ; cf. Aholiab ('Ohöli'ab) 'tent of the Father' (*i.e.* God). Names compounded with 'öhel, tent, are found in other Semitic languages, *e.g.* Phenician and Sabæan, as well as in Hebrew. Anah is the same as Anath (Judg. iii. 31), the name of an old Semitic goddess, who was the female counterpart of Anu, the sky. There was an opportunity here of saying something about the great 'Hittite' goddess, which Mr. Wright has overlooked.

Professor Sayce writes very positively about Tou: 'The name of Tou, or Toi, is non-Semitic.' It is hard to see why. Technically, the name is a *segholate* noun of the form of the well-known *tohu* and *boku* (Gen. i. 2); cf. also *sāhu*, 'swimming,' and the divine name *Yahu*. The root is *tā'āh* 'to wander;' and Tou may therefore mean 'wanderer.' With regard to Joram his son, whom Toi, or rather Tou, as the name is read in Chronicles, sent with a congratulatory message to David, the name is, of course, pure Hebrew, being that of a Jewish king of later times, and meaning *Jah is high*. It is strange that Mr. Sayce selected this name, and not that found in the Chronicles—Hadoram, which was probably the true name of Tou's son. Hadoram seems to mean *Addu* (or *Hadad*) *is high*; for which, in Samuel, a divine name less offensive to Hebrew feeling has been substituted. The one or two names of Hamathite princes known to us from the Assyrian inscriptions also have a Semitic look: Irkulini, 'he is tender of eye,' in the time of Shalmaneser II., 854 B.C.; Eniel, 'eye of God,' in the time of Tiglath-pileser II., 738 B.C.; and Ilu-bi'di or Ya'u-bi'di, 'God or Jah is my fear,' the last king of Hamath, in the time of Sargon, 717 B.C. The name Hamath is itself good Semitic, and means *wall, fortress*. There is, in truth, no ground for the supposition that Hamath was Hittite, except the fact that four hieroglyphic inscriptions were found there, and that Mr. Sayce and others have decided these to be 'Hittite' remains, without adducing one particle of proof.¹ The original population of Hamath may have been Hivites. At all events, Friedrich Delitzsch has plausibly explained the Assyrian *Hammatti* as equivalent to *Havvatti*, i.e. land of the Hivites. See, however, Josh. xi. 3; Judges iii. 3. The Bible nowhere calls the people of Hamath Hittites; and their god Ashima (2 Kings xvii. 31), so far from being 'non-Semitic,' may be plausibly compared with the Arabic '*al'asimatu*, 'the lion.' We are told also that Pethor was a Hittite town, and Pethor was 'the home of Balaam, the soothsayer, whose Hittite name has given so much trouble to Semitic philologists' (Wright, p. 52). Now if Balaam was a Hittite, and not an Aramean, it is curious that no Biblical notice of him mentions a fact so disparaging from a Jewish point of view. Besides, his 'non-inflexional' language should have made intercourse rather

¹ What proof is there even that these inscriptions were written 'in the language of the people,' i.e. of Hamath, as Mr. Wright asserts? Were the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions at *Nahr el-Kelb* in the language of the people of Syria? Or were the *stelæ* set up by Thothmes I. on the banks of the Euphrates engraved with Aramaic legends?

difficult between him and the Semitic prince Balak. But the bewilderment of Semitic philologists is here imaginary. Balaam might denote *Bel is a kinsman*; cf. the Heb. Eliam, and Ammiel. But as in Gen. xxxvi. 32, we read of a king of Edom, Bela ben Beor, whose name is radically identical with that of Balaam, while the father's name is the same in both instances, we may conclude that Balaam is Bela with the formative ending *-am*. In Num. xxiii. 7, Balaam names Aram as his country: cf. Deut. xxiii. 4.

If now we turn to extra-Biblical records, we find mention of the land of *Hatti* (*Ha-ad-ti*), in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, as early as the reign of Sargon (Sargāni) of Accad. The passages may be seen in *W.A.I.* iii. plates 60, 61. In the former (line 38) we read: 'Day 20th (of Ab) an eclipse happened. The king of the land of *Hatti*, ditto¹; the king of the land of *Hāti* invaded, and of the throne possessed himself.' A few lines below (46): 'Day 16th (of Elul) an eclipse happened. The king of the neighbouring land (or the land of *Aḫiti*?), ditto²; the king of the land of *Hāti* invaded, and of the throne possessed himself.' Again, in plate 61, we have Moon portents, affecting Accad and 'West-land' with contrary fortunes. 'West-land' (*māt Mar-tu-ki*), which in later usage meant Phenicia-Palestine (*māt Aharri*), seems here to be used in a wider sense, so as to include northern Syria. But we do not see why 'the strong enemy,' in fol. 61, 2, line 11, is 'doubtless the Hittites.' Other countries besides *Hatti* are mentioned in these inscriptions.

Various dates have been assigned by different scholars for Sargon of Accad; but on any theory the above notices prove that before the end of the third millennium B.C. the district that lay between the Orontes and the Euphrates, or between Phenicia and the Midriverland, was already known as 'the land of *Hatti*,' and its people as *Hattai*, a term which corresponds well enough, so far as spelling goes, to the Hebrew *Hittim*, or Hittites. Hommel, who identifies the peoples as well as the names, supposes that at this time the Hittites occupied the country from the thirty-seventh to about the thirty-third degree of latitude, or from Carchemish in the north to Damascus in the south; but this is doubtful. A comparison of passages shows that the *Hattai* (or *Hattā'a*)

¹ The word 'died' is to be repeated from line 37 of the tablet.

² Understand 'killed his father, and seized on the throne,' from line 45. But it is not quite clear how much the Assyrian sign of repetition directs us to repeat. *Hatti* and *Hāti* appear to have been distinct but contiguous countries. See Mr. Pinches in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* March 3, 1885.

known to the Assyrians were divided into a number of small kingdoms lying between the middle Euphrates (from Samosata to Barbalissus) and the Orontes, among which that of Carchemish played a leading part. From the time of Tiglath-Pileser I. to that of Assurbanipal (1120-668 B.C.) the name recurs in the Assyrian annals. Assurnasirpal (B.C. 884 *post*) took tribute of Sangara of Carchemish, whom he calls 'king of the land of Hatti.' From the eighth century onwards, especially after the conquests of Tiglath-Pileser II. (745-722 B.C.), and Sargon (722-705 B.C.), the latter of whom annexed Carchemish (717 B.C.) and Commagene (Kummukh) in 708 B.C., the name of 'Hatti-land' began to receive a wider application. Thus Sargon calls Ashdod a city of the land of Hatti, and Sennacherib and Esarhaddon extend the designation to Phenicia-Palestine, including Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and even apparently Cyprus. In the next reign, that of Assurbanipal, the name falls into disuse, and these lands are called by their old appellation of *māt Aharri*, or Land of the West.¹

Egyptian history from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty makes frequent mention of a people and country called *Het-ta*, i.e. *Hetta* or *Hitta*, situate in Retennu, a name which roughly corresponds to Syria in our use of the term. According to Brugsch the whole country from Rhinocolura (*Wady-el-Arish*) to Carchemish on the east, and to the Amanus and Taurus on the west, was known to the Egyptians as *Reten kir*, Upper Reten. In those early times it was already divided (as always, *pace* Mr. Sayce) into a number of small kingdoms, each bearing the name of a well-fortified capital, which were inhabited by different races, among which 'the great people of the *Hetta*' holds a distinguished place. The kingdoms of Carchemish, Kadesh, Megiddo, were considered the most important places for defence and attack, and for the meeting of the allied kings.² Thothmes I. (circ. 1633 B.C.) began 'a war of vengeance against Western Asia [in retaliation for the incursions of the Bedawin Shasu and the usurpation of the Hyksos], which for nearly five hundred years was carried on by succeeding Pharaohs with almost uninterrupted good fortune.' He penetrated the hostile country so far as N-H-R-I-N, Hebrew Naharaim, or Mesopotamia, not the land of the Patinai, as Mr. Sayce asserts. To say that Thothmes 'began in his first year a war against the Hittites and their allies' (Wright) is to go beyond the monuments,

¹ *Vid.* Schrader's *Keilinschr. und das alt. Test.* p. 107 *sqq.*

² See Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 291 *sq.*, Eng. Trans.

and to antedate the hegemony of the *Hetta* by a century or more.

In the course of a long reign Thothmes III. (1600 B.C.) undertook at least fourteen campaigns in the same direction, of which the first, undertaken in his twenty-second year, was the most important. 'Most of the temple walls,' says Brugsch, 'were devoted to its commemoration.' The King of Kadesh, in the land of the Amorites, appears at the head of the confederated peoples of Reten. The meeting-place of the allies was the strong city of Megiddo. There were assembled 'the kings of all the peoples who dwell from near the Water of Egypt (the *Wady-el-Arish*) as far as to the land of Naharain (Mesopotamia); the . . . , the *Haru* or Chal (Syrians), the *Ketu*, the . . . , their horses, their warriors.'¹ We here see all the little kingdoms, from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates, and apparently beyond it, joining in a common enterprise of resistance to Egypt; just as a thousand years later we find the Kings of Tyre, Judah, Edom, Moab, Gaza, and the other Philistine states, united to oppose the Assyrian sovereigns Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. The confederates were defeated, and took refuge within the walls of Megiddo, which had 'the might of a thousand towns,' owing to which circumstance they were able to make terms with the Pharaoh. The tribute and spoils carried off by Thothmes prove the extraordinary pitch of civilization to which the peoples of Canaan, especially the Phenicians, had attained at that early period.² We read of 'gold and silver chariots made in the land of the Asebi,'³ of '892 chariots of the warriors' (compare the 900 chariots of Sisera), of beautiful suits of iron armour, of precious stones, of golden platters, and vases, and drinking-cups, of '1,784 lbs. of gold rings, which were found in the hands of the artists,' of a golden-headed statue, of tent poles plated with gold, of measuring-rods made of ivory, ebony, and cedar, inlaid with gold, of chairs with footstools of ivory and cedar, and many other objects of art, besides grain, and wine, and fruit, and live stock. The Egyptians, in fact, were indebted to the Syrians for those horses and chariots which in later times were especially associated with Egypt (Isa. xxxi. 1; 2 Kings xviii. 24), as well as for the development of their artistic tastes, which was largely due to the Phenician craftsmen whom they carried away as prisoners of war. In connexion with this campaign Brugsch has given a list of

¹ Brugsch, i. 321.

² See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* pp. 344-355.

³ In Syria (Wiedemann); Cyprus (Brugsch).

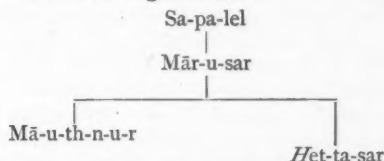
119 names of towns and districts copied from the walls of the temple of Karnak.¹ The list is headed: 'This is the catalogue of the inhabitants of Upper Reten, whom his Majesty captured in the hostile town of Megiddo.' A few of these names are at once recognized as familiar in Biblical and classical literature. There can be little doubt of the identity of *Kefesh* with Kadesh, *Mākethà* with Megiddo. Other names are obscured, partly it may be by their Egyptian dress, and partly owing to the fact that they early disappeared from history. But we must here, again, protest against the strange assumption that all the peoples which fought at Megiddo under the banner of the King of Kadesh were 'Hittite.' The 'great land of Hetta' is mentioned in the inscriptions of Thothmes as distinct from the other countries of Syria; and although we have records of expeditions against Carchemish, Kadesh, Aleppo, Tunep, these towns are not said to belong to the Hetta, but are evidently independent states governed by their own sovereigns. As Kadesh is fixed by the inscriptions in the 'land of the Amorites,' it appears probable that an Amorite hegemony of the nations of Syria-Palestine preceded that of the Hetta, who first become prominent at the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty. Speaking of the sixth campaign, in which Kadesh, Zimyra, and Arvad were taken and burnt, Mr. Wright says that Thothmes had 'driven the confederates north,' meaning that the Hittites had been expelled from their supposed seats in the south. But a mere inspection of the list of towns concerned in the battle of Megiddo will show at once that not the Hittites only, but all the peoples of Syria-Palestine were involved in the war. How could the populations of Dothan, Libnah, the Negeb, Joppa, Mamre, Gerar, be 'driven northwards'? It must be repeated, *Kadesh is nowhere called a Hittite capital in the records of Thothmes III.* The 'great land of the Hetta' is mentioned, but not as the centre of the opposition to Egypt. The Amorite King of Kadesh is the commander-in-chief of the allied forces of Retennu. In the fine poem celebrating the exploits of Thothmes III.,² the reduction of the peoples of Cyprus and Phenicia, of Tahi (the Philistine coastland),³ and of Syria in general is mentioned;

¹ There are three lists, of which the first and oldest originally contained 115 names. The second—a copy of the first, with some omissions—says that the names are those of the magnates of all the Retennu, of the remotest places of Asia, and of the Fenchu (Phenicians). The third list gives four names more than the first. As a sort of supplement, 239 other local names are added (Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* p. 349).

² Brugsch, i. 370 sqq.

³ So Brugsch; but Wiedemann, the Phenicians.

but the *Hetta* are conspicuous by their absence. Clearly they had not at this time reached the summit of their power. The evidence of the monuments does not justify Mr. Wright's assumption that they were the chief objects of Thothmes' eastern campaigns. Nor is it true that the wars of that king's immediate successors were mainly directed against the 'Hittite' power, as Mr. Wright asserts (p. 18), quoting words used by Brugsch of a later period. It is in the time of the Ramessides that the *Hetta* became really conspicuous in Egyptian history. They now appear at the head of the league of the numerous petty states into which Western Asia was divided at this epoch. As Brugsch observes, the Egyptian inscriptions speak of their kings with respect, and of their gods with reverence. Indeed, these contemporary sources supply us with the succession of the kings of *Hetta* for rather more than a century, from the time of Ramses I. onwards, according to the following scheme:—



Mr. Sayce maintains that these names are non-Semitic. His authority is accepted by some without reserve; but, for our part, we do not think that every loophole is yet closed against reasonable doubt in the matter. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that we have not the native spellings of these and other 'Hittite' names, but only Egyptian transcriptions of them, which may vary in some cases very considerably from the original sounds; and secondly, the exact values of the Egyptian signs themselves are difficult to determine. The first name, for instance, is variously transliterated as Sapalili, Sapalala, Sapalel, Saplel, Saplii, Saplul, Saprer, and perhaps it should be Sapalara (cf. *Tarhulara*); the second name has been written Maurosar, Mair-sar, Marosir, Mara-sara; the third Mau-than-er, Mauthanar, Mautenaur, Mautenara, Mäuten-u-re, Mauthnar, and Motour; the fourth, Kheta-sira, Khitasar, &c. With such a choice of alternative spellings etymology might be expected to become an arduous if not impossible task. We will not, however, refrain from hazarding a few suggestions, with the object of illustrating our opinion that these royal titles, even in the shape in which they have come down to us, are not abso-

lutely decisive against the Semitic affinities of the *Hetta*. To take the first name, *Saph* occurs in the Old Testament as the name of a Rephaite champion of the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 18). It was, no doubt, a divine name, and we meet it again in these lists in the name *Sapat'ar* (or *Sapzar*), a brother of *Hettasar*, and perhaps in the town *Hisasapa*. The meaning of *Sapalel* may conceivably be *Sap is exalted* or *is glorious* (from the root *hālāl*, Assy. *illu*, splendid). *Mārusar* may be compared with the Aramean *mār*, *mārā*, lord; or Assy. *maru*, son; Arab. *mar'un*, male. *Sar* is admitted to be probably equivalent to the Assy. *sarru*, king, Heb. *sar*, prince, captain. Perhaps, however, in these names we should read *sira*, and understand the root to be *sārāh*, to contend. Then *Mārusar* would be a name like *Seraiah*, *Sarai*, *Israel*.

This suitably explains the fourth name *Hettasar* or *Hetta-sira*. The first part of this compound is the national designation; and *Hetta*, as the eponym of the race, was probably a god. If this name be rightly compared with Assy. *Hatti* and Heb. *Hēth*, the root may be *hāthath*, 'to fear,' from which comes in Heb. *hāthath*, 'terror,' which appears as a proper name in 1 Chron. iv. 13, and *hittith*, 'terror,' Ezek. xxvi. 17 (a term which also denotes a Hittite woman). In Assyrian also we have *hattu*, 'terror.' In Hebrew the word *pahad*, 'dread,' is used as a periphrasis for Deity in the phrase 'the Fear of Isaac.' The meaning of *Hetta-sar* is, therefore, 'Hetta is king,' or 'Hetta contendeth,' cf. *Elimelech*, *Malchiel*, *Jehojarib*, *Jerubbaal*, and similar Hebrew names of persons. A similar explanation applies to the names *Hirpasar* (or *Khi-repsar*) and *Kauisar*, two other *Hetta* personages mentioned in the inscriptions of Ramses II.¹ The *Hirpa* of the former name is usually connected with *Hirbu*, *Aleppo*. In this case it will be the eponymous deity of the town. We are told that the name *Halpu* or *Hilpu* actually occurs in a cuneiform inscription as that of a god. The second name, *Kauisar*, is quite similar. *Kau* is probably a national and divine name, which occurs in Assyrian as *Qūai*. But if these comparisons be accepted as reasonable or probable, a favourite argument of Mr. Sayce and his too sedulous follower Mr. Wright at once falls to the ground:—

'The order in which the words stand in these compound names, the genitive preceding the governing word, is a decisive proof that

¹ We have transliterated the proper names from Rosellini (*Monumenti*), Lepsius (*Denkmäler*), and Mariette (*Karnak*).

the language in which such compounds were usual did not belong to the Semitic family of speech.' ¹

And again :—

'Such Hittite names as Kheta-sira, prince (?) of the Hittites ; Khilip-sira, prince (?) of Aleppo ; Kau-i-sira, prince of the Kuans (?), show that, like Aryan, the language of the Hittites placed the defining word before that which it defined. Consequently it was not a Semitic dialect. This conclusion is confirmed by the Hittite personal and local names preserved in the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. *None of these can be explained as Semitic,* &c.' ²

Mr. Wright, essaying to illustrate the alleged peculiarity of these names, presents us with Malki-sedek and Malki-salem [*sic*], the latter apparently an invention of his own. It is quite obvious, in spite of Mr. Sayce's emphatic dogmatism, that in the present state of our knowledge we have no right to talk of 'the genitive preceding the governing word' in 'Hittite,' and we think we have made it sufficiently clear that, so far as these royal names are concerned, that supposition is neither necessary nor particularly probable.

The third name, if read as Mauthanel, or Māthunel, may be compared with Phenician Matanba'al (the Muthumballes of Plautus), Mitinti (Mytton, Mutton); or with Heb. Methusael, and Assyr. *muttu*, husband. In other words, it may mean 'gift of God' (El) or 'man of God.' Or perhaps Māüthnūr, or Mäutenure, means *man of fire*, or *light*, *i.e.* the Sun. The name, however, is very puzzling in its Egyptian garb ; and we cannot profess confidence in these or any other comparisons.

The short reign of Ramses I. (1450 or 1400 B.C.) witnessed a war against the *Hetta*, which ended in an alliance between that sovereign and Sapalel, as we learn from a notice in the later treaty of Ramses II. and Hettasar, which is happily extant in the Egyptian copy. The alliance was violated in the time of Māüthnūr, and Seti I. (1400 or 1366 B.C.), after reducing the petty states that lay along his road to the north, including 'the land of Kadesh in the territory of the Amorites,' as he has himself recorded, marched against the *Hetta*, whose country was situated to the north of Kadesh, ³ avowedly as 'the avenger of broken treaties.' He met and routed the 'well-ordered hosts of the beardless light-red Khita' (Brugsch), who fought on foot, on horseback, and in chariots. On his return march the tribes of the Lebanon

¹ Sayce, *The Hamathite Inscriptions*, p. 29.

² Sayce, *Mon. of Hitt.* p. 283.

³ Wiedemann denies the identity of this Kadesh with Kadesh on the Orontes taken by Thothmes III.

(Rimēnen) submitted to him, and felled cedars for the Egyptian temples. An inscription informs us that Seti had now 'placed his boundaries at the beginning of the world, and at the utmost borders of the river-land of Naharain' . . . 'which the great sea (the Euphrates and Tigris) encircles.' In connexion with this, we may remember that *Al-Fazirah*, the island, is the modern name of southern Mesopotamia. In the list of Seti's conquests we meet with the *Hetta*, Naharain, Upper Reten (Canaan), Lower Reten (northern Syria), Senker (*Sinjar*; or *Senkereh*), Kadesh in the land of the Amorites, Asebi, Mennus, *i.e.* the Syrian coast, Tar (Tyre), and Balnu—that is, Balaneæ, north of Aradus. In the temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes, the conqueror solemnly presented 'the great kings of the wretched land of Reten' . . . 'in consequence of his victory over the people of the *Hetta*.'

Seti was succeeded by his son, Ramses II., called Sesostris by the Greeks, from his popular names Ses, Sestesu, Setesu, or Sestura, who, in his fifth year, marched against Kadesh, the island fortress of the Orontes, which was once more the rallying-point of the confederated kings of the East.¹

'There appeared,' says one record, 'the kings and peoples of Arethu or Arithu (Arvad), Hirbu (Haleb, Aleppo), Naharain (Mesopotamia), Qat'auatana (Gauzanitis or Gozan, east of the Euphrates, according to Brugsch; but here, as elsewhere, his identifications of the local names are more than doubtful), the Aruna (the Assyrian Aruni in Nairi, north of Mesopotamia) or Mauna (Brugsch), Pīṭasa or Pāṭas, the Leka, the Tenēni, the Masa, Kerkesh, Kirkemish, or Qairqamāsha (Carchemish), Akarith, Ennuḳes or Nenuḳes (Jenysus, according to Brugsch), Māsheneth,' in short, 'all the peoples, from the utmost ends of the sea to the land of the *Hetta*.'

It is not surprising that at this distance of time some of these names should prove difficult to identify. Mr. Sayce and others, who believe in the existence of a Hittite empire which was practically conterminous with Syria and the whole of Asia

¹ Wiedemann accounts for this fresh outbreak of hostilities, not by the inexhaustible resources of a hypothetical Hittite Empire, but by the more natural supposition that, in spite of Egyptian boasting, the defeats of the *Hetta* were insignificant. And elsewhere he ascribes the necessity of these frequent wars in Asia to the faulty system observed by the Egyptians in dealing with the conquered peoples. Until the time of Seti and Ramses they had been in the habit of marching back to Egypt with their plunder, without leaving garrisons behind them, or arranging for the government of the country upon the Egyptian model. The numerous petty princes could thus do pretty much as they liked among themselves, so long as they paid their tribute and nominally recognized the Pharaoh's overlordship (*Aeg. Gesch.* p. 417, 323 sqq.)

Minor, do not hesitate to affirm that the allies or subjects of Hettasar included the people of Ilion, the Dardanians, the Mysians, the Lycians, and the people of Pedasus, in Caria. The theory is a bold one, and in our opinion extremely improbable. Neither Assyria, nor Egypt, nor Babylon, ever succeeded in annexing this vast extent of territory. The physical configuration of Asia Minor is against the supposition; so also is the little we know of its ethnography. The name Aruna has been spelled Malunna, which might represent an unknown Mālōn; or it may be compared with the modern *Meirōn*, west of Safed, or with Shimron-Meron, Josh. xi. 1; xii. 20. The reading *Iluna* was probably suggested by the Homeric Ilion; to which also *Iriuna* might correspond. Brugsch now reads *Maīna*, and understands Maeonia; but even this might be a Canaanitish Meon, see Josh. xiii. 17; xv. 55; 1 Chron. iv. 41; and comp. modern *Ma'in* and *Ma'an*. Qat'auatana reminds us of Adana in Cilicia. Piṭasa has been compared with Pedasus in the Troad and Pedasus in Caria; but none of the other allies came from so remote a region, as we shall see. The Leka are not the Lycians, but either the *Laq̄* of the cuneiform inscriptions, a people of the Amanus range, and therefore adjoining the Hetta; or, as Brugsch suggested, the Ligyes of Hdt. vii. 72, near the Matieni (Matenau) and lake Urmiah; or we may transcribe the name Reka, and compare the modern *Rakka* at the point where the Balikh joins the Euphrates. This would make the Leka or Reka close neighbours of the Hetta. The Tēṭeni, according to Wiedemann, are identical with the Taānau of the time of Ramses III. and with the Tānāi of Thothmes III. Their tribute, which included a silver statue of Phenician (Keftu) workmanship, proves that they could not have been much more remote from Egypt than the Phenicians.¹ If, however, the name be read Tēṭeni, or Dardani, we may suppose with Brugsch that the Dardani of Kurdistan (Hdt. i. 189) are intended, or, with Mr. Tomkins, we may recognize the name in the modern *Durdun* Dagħ, the western spur of the Amanus mountains which divide Cilicia from northern Syria.² The Masa need not be the Mysians, for

¹ Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* p. 436, note.

² Professor Sayce, without specifying the passage, mentions the Paschal Chronicle as supplying evidence of a connexion between the Dardanians of the Troad and the Hittites. Mr. Wright, who probably has never seen the Chronicle, twice refers to Mr. Sayce's mention of it. In the *Chronicon Paschale*, i. 51 (ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831), we read, Σιδῶνα ἐξ οὗ Μυροί · Χερραίων ἐξ οὗ Δάρδανον. The writer is utilizing the Table of Nations in Gen. x. for the purposes of his Universal History,

the name reminds us of several others lying nearer to the seats of the *Hetta*. Mount Masius, for instance, to the north of Nisibis, and Mount Masis, north-east of lake Van, and the Biblical Mash and Mesha (Gen. x. 23, 30), and the Assyrian Mas'u, the district along the western bank of the Euphrates down to the Persian Gulf.¹ Kerkesh may very well be Girgash, the Girgashites, as Brugsch suggests. They are associated with the Hittites in Deut. vii. 1; cf. Gen. x. 16 (we wonder it has not been identified with Gergithes in the Troad). Nor is it impossible that the people of Circesium on the Euphrates (mod. *Kerkesiyeh*) may have called their town Kerkesh, even if the Assyrians did call it Sirki, as Professor Sayce insists. Lastly, Akarith has been compared with modern Tekrit or Tagrit on the Tigris; and Māsheneth may perhaps be the Syriac Maishan, Mesene, near the mouth of that river. There was, however, another Mesene, in Melitene, not so very far north of the land of *Hetta*. According to Brugsch the Egyptian allies included Sardonians from Colchis; but Wiedemann seems to prove that the Sharṭana were a Libyan tribe (p. 473). The *Hetta*, at any rate, from their position in the extreme north of Syria, would be likely to seek allies among the warlike mountaineers of the different races beyond their boundaries; but we do not think they went so far afield as the Troad. Mr. Gladstone, indeed,² has suggested that the Κήτιοι of Odys. xi. 521, are no other than the Hittites. But apart from the phonetic objection that Semitic *hēth* (*h*) does not answer to Greek Kappa (κ), and that the LXX write Χετταῖος for Hittite, we may observe that it is much more probable that the Ceteans were a *Mysian* tribe. There was a Mysian river, an affluent of the Caicus, which was called the Ceteus, and on its banks the Cetei probably lived.³

Mr. Wright, professing to give an abstract of the so-called

and he goes on to deduce the Jebusites from the Jebusite (*sic*), the Germans from the Amorite, the Sarmatians from the Girgashite, the Pannonians from the Hivite, and so on, including 'the Romans, who are also Citizæans,' from the Arvadite. This stuff, which is perhaps the best that could be expected from a Byzantine monk of the seventh century A.D., is poor testimony to anything but ancient ignorance of ethnography. Mr. Sayce again refers to the Chronicle, surmising that the *stele* set up by Perseus outside the gates of Iconium, was a 'Hittite' monument. But the Chronicle says it bore the image of the Gorgon. The story is simply an ætiological legend, accounting for the origin of the name Iconium (*Chron. Pasch.* p. 71). On the preceding page the Chronicle informs us that Sardanapallus the Great was slain by Perseus, who thus won the throne of the Assyrians, and called them Persians after his own name (!).

¹ Delitzsch, *Wo lag d. Paradies?* p. 58.

² *Homeric Synchronism*, p. 174.

³ See Strabo, 616.

Epic of Pentaür, the Theban temple-scribe, celebrating the triumphs of Ramses,¹ proceeds thus:—

'The miserable king of the Hittites had assembled together the people of the two rivers [*sic*], the Dardanians *from the shores of the Aegean sea* [*sic*], the islanders from Arvad, the hardy mountaineers from Moësius [*sic*], the people of Aleppo, and Carchemish, and Gauzanitis,' &c.

Brugsch translates Pentaür thus:—

'Beginning of the victory of King Ramses Miamun— may he live for ever!—which he obtained over the people of the Khita, of Naharain, of Malunna, of Pidasa, of the Dardani, over the people of Masa, of Karkisha, of Qazuatan, of Qarkemish, of Kati, of Anaugas, over the people of Akerith and Mushanath.'

We have already remarked upon all these names except Qati, which Brugsch says is Galilee. Mr. Goodwin made it Gath. We might also compare the Catanii, a tribe living west of the Euphrates, below Circesium. The papyrus of Bek-en-Amen mentions it as being in the country of Aretu, which is Aradus or Arvad according to Chabas.² Pentaür continues: 'And when the king approached the city (Kadesh), behold there was the miserable king of the hostile Khita already arrived. He had assembled with him all the peoples from the uttermost ends of the sea to the people of the Khita.' The sea may mean the Euphrates or the Persian Gulf. 'They had arrived in great numbers, the people of Naharain, the people of Arathu,' &c. *ut supra*. 'He had left no people on his road, without bringing them with him.' The army of Xerxes was swelled by similar heterogeneous contingents as it marched towards Greece. 'He had not left silver nor gold with his people, he had taken away all their goods and possessions, to give to the people who accompanied him to the war.' The King of the Hetta, like Ahaz in much later times, stripped his own subjects in order to pay his foreign allies and mercenaries. Ramses was victorious in the great battle which followed, if we may trust his own panegyrists. That he won no more than a Pyrrhic triumph is evident from the fact that he shortly afterwards concluded a close alliance³ with his valiant enemy, the

¹ According to Erman, Pentaür was only transcriber, not author of the famous poem. Lepsius has shown from the date of the papyrus (Sallier I.) that he wrote sixty-seven years later than the time commonly supposed. See note in Wiedemann, p. 434.

² See *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* VII. iii. p. 411 sqq.

³ The treaty was strictly a *defensive* alliance, not offensive also, as is usually stated (Wiedemann, p. 438). It was cemented by the marriage of

terms of which may still be read on the walls of Karnak. This treaty, the draft of which, engraved on a silver plate, was laid before Ramses by the envoys of Hettasar, is a most interesting document, and vividly illustrates the high civilization and advanced state of international politics which existed in Western Asia in the thirteenth century B.C. Brugsch attributes the friendly overtures of the Hetta mainly to another cause than the prowess of Ramses. 'The increasing movements of the nations, and the growing troubles in Canaan, the pushing forward of whole races in Western Asia owing to the immigration of warlike tribes of foreign origin, seem to have arrested the serious attention of the kings of Khita as well as of the Egyptian Pharaoh.' The restless populations of the north, like the Cimmerians of a later age, were a standing menace to the civilization of the south.

Among the gods invoked to ratify the treaty are Sutech, the war-god of the Hetta, who is called 'the king of heaven and earth,' and according to the Harris papyrus was worshipped by the Hyksos King Apepi. He answers to the Semitic sun-god, Baal, and his name may perhaps mean Slaughterer (from שחט = שחט). Besides Sutech, Ashtoreth (*āthrtā*), who was the chief goddess of the Semitic nations, is also invoked. Among the cities of the Hetta are mentioned Tunep, identified by Brugsch with the Greek Daphne;¹ Arnema, which Brugsch thinks may be Mariamme, between Aradus and Emesa; T'aarenta (so Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 146; Rosellini, pl. 116, omits T'a); Pilqa or Pairaka—that is, probably Peleg or Phaliga, at the junction of the Habor with the Euphrates (cf. also Bargā, a city of Hamath, Schrader, p. 194); Hisasapa and Sarisu, both unknown; Hilbu or Hirbu, Aleppo; Sarpina or Sarapaina, perhaps Raphaneæ, southwest of Hamath, but compare Sarapana in Colchis; and Zaiath-Khirri (or T'aitath-Herri), 'Hinder Zaiath.' Kiepert's map marks a Zaiitha about twenty miles south of Phaliga, on the east bank of the Euphrates. But there is a place called *Zayti* east of the lake of Kadesh. Among the towns reduced by Ramses were Khiriza or Khiliza, Rihuza, and Karika (Brugsch). In the catalogue of the conquests of Thothmes III. we also find mention of Art'akena, Kanretu, and Thálecha. These names may perhaps be identified with

Hettasar's daughter to Ramses, who raised her to the rank of queen by the title Ur-maā-nefer-u-Ra, which Mr. Wright appears to consider a 'Hittite' designation.

¹ Wiedemann says it was in the neighbourhood of Damascus (*Aeg. Gesch.* p. 351).

Cyrrhus or Ciliza, Oriza (between Thapsacus and Palmyra), Chalcis, Eragiza (Assyr. *Arazik*), on the west bank of the Euphrates; Gindarus, north-east of Antioch, and Doliche, north-east of Cyrrhus: all of which were towns lying within the limits of the territory assigned to the *Hetta* in accordance with the monuments. The power of the *Hetta* seems also to have extended beyond the Euphrates. Some of the local names in the Egyptian lists may be recognized in the classical designations of Mesopotamian cities. Of course we do not suppose that the whole number of names in the lists of Thothmes III. and Ramses II. are those of 'Hittite' places. Many of them, probably a majority, are those of allied peoples. And in considering them it must be borne in mind that the vanity of an Oriental conqueror would register every insignificant town or castle or outpost that succumbed before his arms. It is not, therefore, surprising if many of these places can no longer be identified. And the cautious remark of Brugsch ought not to be forgotten in any speculations about the *Hetta*. 'The Egyptian inscriptions speak of them as "the great people" or "the great country," less with respect to the space they occupied than from their just reputation for brave and chivalrous qualities.'

Mr. Sayce's list of more than 300 'Hittite names' includes many which are not Hittite at all, but belong to various peoples of Asia Minor and Cyprus. Such are Tershecha, identified by Brugsch with the Cilician Tarsus; Sarmeski or Salamis, in Cyprus; Kushpata or Casyponis, in Cilicia; Kathin, Citium, Sari or Sali, Soli, and Aatâl or Ithal or Idalion, in Cyprus; Aimar or Marion, in the same island; Kabur, Cibyra, in Cilicia; Kilsenen, Colosse in Phrygia; all taken from a catalogue of places conquered by Ramses III.¹ Similarly out of a catalogue of between fifty and sixty personal names from the Assyrian inscriptions, given as 'Hittite,' not more than five or six have a right to that designation. Kundaspi and Kustaspi (Gush-tasp, Hystaspes) are undoubtedly Aryan (Iranian). The Patinian Lubarna, Girparuda, Sapalulvi (or -me), have a non-Semitic look, the first reminding us of the Median Eparna, Sidir-parna, and similar Iranian names; the second of Garbatusa and even *Girbâs* (*Jerâbis*); and the third of Sapalel. But it is impossible to speculate satisfactorily from existing data about these and the other names which Professor Sayce has thrown together. Some of them are possibly Semitic. We may fairly compare Sangara of Carchemish, the contem-

¹ See Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften*, pl. 11-12; Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.* pp. 498 sqq.; Brugsch, *Gesch. Aegyptens*, 602 sq.

porary of Ahab of Israel, with the Biblical Shamgar and Samgar-nebo; Pisiris or Pisiri, the last king of Carchemish, with such names as Phicol (Pi-) and Phinehas, as well as with Hetta-sira and Sisera. Mutallu looks like a Semitic participle, or it might be Methuel; Dadilu is probably *Dad* or *Dadda*, or *Hadaḏ*, is God; Tarkhu in Tarkhu-lara and Tarkhu-nazi is letter for letter the same as Heb. Terah (stem Tarkh-), and perhaps means the moon, as Terah was an idolater (Josh. xxiv. 2), and originally lived in Ur of the Chaldees (*Muḡayyir*), where there was a great temple of the Moon-god. The name may even be a secondary form from *ארה* to journey, with which *ירח* (moon) may be connected, as the traveller of the sky. 'Ahiramu, son of Yahiru, son of Bakhiani,' king of Carchemish in the time of Assurnasirpal, has the good Semitic name Ahiram (like Abiram), and his father's and grandfather's names may also be Semitic. It is noticeable that in the inscriptions of Assurnasirpal and Sargon, the King of Carchemish is styled 'king of the land of Hatti,' i.e. apparently the extreme north of Syria. It may be that the Hattai of northern Syria were not of Semitic extraction; but in that case we must conclude either that they had nothing to do with the Hittites of the Bible, whose proper names, as we have shown, are all Hebrew, or else that the latter had been thoroughly Hebraized, an explanation which hardly applies to Ephron the Hittite of Abraham's time, and to the wives and fathers-in-law of Esau. The verse Gen. x. 15, which includes Heth among the Canaanites, must be interpreted, as Schrader points out, with reference to verse 19, which defines the territories of the Canaanites as extending from Sidon to Gaza, and thence to the Dead Sea, thus excluding the northern Hittites of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions.¹

Brugsch has observed that, judging by the Egyptian representations, it is very doubtful whether the Hetta should be reckoned as Canaanites. 'Beardless, armed in a different manner, fighting three men on each chariot, arranged in order of battle according to a well-considered plan, the Khita present

¹ Wiedemann remarks that if the Hattai of the cuneiform inscriptions are identical with the Hetta of the Egyptian, their seats must have been in the vicinity of Carchemish in the later time as well as in that of Thothmes III. Neither the Egyptian nor the Assyrian monuments give us the slightest hint of a 'Hittite Empire' embracing Asia Minor and Syria. In describing the war with Ramses II., Wiedemann writes: 'The Cheta had leagued themselves with a great number of peoples of northern Syria, amongst which the Neharina, Karkamish, Chibbu (Chalybon), and Tenteni were the most important.' Thus the peoples of northern Syria, and even Carchemish, are distinguished from the Hetta.

a striking contrast to their Canaanite allies.' That the numbers of the *Hetta* were not relatively great is shown by the fact that they only mustered 17,000 footmen at the battle of Kadesh. Kamā-it'a led the van, consisting of 8,000 men; behind whom were 9,000, led by Hettasar, the king. Tār-ḫannasa and Païsa commanded the chariots; Ti-ṭar the mercenaries; Rebasunna brought allies from Annunasa; another chieftain came from Naqbus or Naqbesu. Sapazar (Sapat'ar) and Māt'arima were brothers of Hettasar. Other personal names are Ḳarbatusa, Tārkatāt'asa, Taṭar or Tadal, T'aua-t'asa, Samāirtsasa, and Tārtisbu. 'It is evident at once,' says Brugsch, 'that these names do not bear a Semitic, or, at any rate, not a pure Semitic stamp. The endings in -s, -r, and -u, prevail.' These endings are not, however, alien to the Semitic languages. Brugsch adds that the peculiarities observable in these names are 'also found in that unexplained series of names of towns which form the second division of the northern peoples or cities in the lists of the victories of Thutmes III. at Karnak.' After citing some 125 names, most of which Mr. Sayce has incorporated in his catalogue of 'Hittite' local names, Brugsch remarks that they are

'the old allied cities of those Khita of unknown origin, who, long before the rise of Nineveh and Babylon, played the same part which, at a later period, the Assyrians undertook with success. Though we are not yet in a position to solve the obscure problem here suggested, yet future discoveries will doubtless afford convincing proofs that the rule of the Khita in the highest antiquity [he means the epoch of the 19th dynasty] was of an importance which we can now only guess at.'

These remarks appear to have given the keynote to Professor Sayce's interesting speculations; but the 'discoveries' anticipated by Brugsch still lie in the future. Brugsch adds that the key to the language and the ethnological position of the *Hetta* is to be found in these names, 'so far as they are not demonstrably of Semitic origin.' This reservation is important. Uncouth as they look in their Egyptian garb, many of them may be plausibly identified with Semitic words and names. We have already shown this in some instances. We would add here that Pir-Heta may be compared with *Bir* and *Birejik*, Ai with Ava ('avvāh), Is (*Hit*), Bursu with *Bālis*, or Basra-Bussorah (cf. also Bozrah, Greek *Βύρσα*); all on the Euphrates. The *Tels*, as Telmanna, Tulbentā (Mound of the Daughter?), are obviously Mesopotamian. Tunipa or Tapuna may mean North-town, Norton. It also resembles Batnæ (Batnon), between the Euphrates and Carrhæ (Harran).

Ar is the common Semitic 'ār, 'city'; as in Ar-Moab. T'ait'al or Zizal may be Sizara-Larissa on the Orontes above Hamath; or Sisaurana on the road between Nisibis and the Tigris. T'akal or T'akar is like Diacira on the Euphrates above Hit. Kharkaka contains the same radicals as Assyr. Khilakki, Khelekh, Cilicia; and Lerti is like Laërte on the Cilician coast; while Tarit'a may be Tarzi, Tarsus, and Karshaua perhaps *Kars*, north-east of Adana. The ending -anta is probably Semitic, and denotes the goddess Anath-Anaitis; the portentous-looking Nenurān-anta may be *Nannāru* (the moon-god) is *Anath*, or perhaps *Fire of Anath* (Syriac *nūrā*). Atukeren may mean *Addu* (Hadad, Attis) is *horned* (being a sun-god). The mysterious Tuāub may be compared with *Ain-Tāb*, north of Aleppo, or with the Aramean Tob of the Book of Samuel. Kainab is probably Cannaba, between the Euphrates and Edessa, and Theleb is Thalaba, south-west of Edessa. Aubellina is like Arbela (Assyr. *Arbailu*); Kalmāitāa is Chilmad (*Kalwādha*) near Bagdad; Arurech is Erech (*Warka*); Nepiriuriu is Nipur (*Niffer*); Uniuqa resembles the Accadian Unugga (*Erech*); Peteri is Pethor; and these and other names point to Mesopotamian connexions, whether of alliance or sovereignty. The list of personal names given above presents a formidable appearance for the advocates of the theory that the *Hetta* were Semitic, or at least contained Semitic elements. Still Kamā-it'a may conceivably be *Qama went* (or *sent*) *forth*; cf. Kemuel. Tārkanasa may be *Targu is Annasa*; cf. Tarqael, *Targu is God*, a place taken by Seti I. Paisa may perhaps be Baasha, the name of a king of Israel, and a king of Ammon (*Ba'sa*) mentioned by Shalmaneser II. Or we might compare Syriac *pīsā*, *peyāsā*, 'persuasion,' or the Hebrew root *būs*, 'to trample,' and the proper name Jebus. Tiṭar is perhaps like Sabæan *Dhū-Samāwī*; it would then mean *Of Adar*. Rebasunna involves the Semitic *rab*, as in Rabshakeh, Rabsaris. Sapat'ar might be *Sap is a rock*, like Heb. *Zurishaddai* and *Pedahzur*. Māt'arima certainly resembles Miṣrayim, the Hebrew name of Egypt, the Arabic Misr, and curiously enough there is a place called *Mesrima* near Aleppo. Tārkatāt'asa possibly involves the name of the goddess *Tēra'tā* (תרעתא), who was worshipped at Mabbugh (Hierapolis).¹ The Greeks spelled her name Derceto. It looks as if it meant *gate-goddess* (תרע gate); cf. Latin Djana-Diana, the female counterpart of Janus. But more probably it is from the verb *תרע* to split (*sensu obsceno*). Mr. Sayce says Mabbugh is a Hittite name. It is, however, a good Semitic word, meaning

¹ Talmud Bab., *Abod. Zar.* 11b ad med.

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spring, well-head. Samārsa reminds one of Sāmērīna (Samarīa). Mr. Tomkins has compared *Shomariyeh*, near the lake of Kadesh. The names involving the syllable -tar resemble Assyrian Istar, Sabæan Athtar, and Tartak (with which compare Tartisbu), the god of the Avites (2 Kings xvii. 31). But enough of this guesswork. The 'Rosetta Stone of the Hittite inscriptions' has yet to be found, and until it is found, conjectures based upon proper names cannot carry us far. Mr. Sayce indeed gave that imposing title to the small object known as the 'Boss of Tarqutimme'; but even assuming that this antique, of which only an electrotype model is known to exist, is genuine, and that the cuneiform inscription running round the rim is really an Assyrian translation of the 'Hittite' symbols which are graven before and behind the effigies, our 'Hittite' gains from it are so slender that a comparison with the Rosetta Stone can only provoke a smile. The Assyrian legend is itself ambiguous. It seems to read *Tarqūtimme sar mat Ermē*; but the last word may be *Zumē*, or even *al Mē*. It is thus uncertain whether the sense is 'Tarqūtimme, king of the land of Erme,' or 'Tarqūtimme, king of the land of Zume,' or 'Tarqutimme, king of the land of the city of Mē.' As regards the 'Hittite' symbols, supposed to correspond to the Assyrian, all that we know, on the most favourable assumption,¹ is the phonetic value of two signs of which the meaning remains unknown, and the meaning of two other signs whose phonetic values it is impossible to determine. We should feel peculiar pleasure in declaring that the chapter on decipherment in Mr. Wright's book was a real advance towards the interpretation of the enigmatical inscriptions from Hamāh and Jirbās; but after the most careful investigation of which we are capable we must confess our utter inability to recognize in that portion of the work anything better than a series of ingenious but ineffectual guesses. If, as Professor Sayce observes, 'the beginning is half the whole,' most decidedly the beginning in this instance has yet to be made. We cannot even accept Mr. Sayce's identification of the circular symbol found so often in the inscriptions, as the 'determinative of divinity.' He infers this value from the rock sculptures at Boghaz Keui, the ancient Pteria or Pterium.² But we cannot help thinking that Mr. Sayce has

¹ It may be doubted whether we can, with any certainty, equate the 'Hittite' and Assyrian signs.

² According to Mr. Sayce, the three-leaved 'flower' (plant) must have the value *tar*, because it occurs on a coin of Tarsus, with the Greek legend TEPCI and the Aramean TARZ. But the flower of the coin is not iden-

in several particulars wrongly interpreted the subjects of those remarkable remains of ancient art. The sculptures do not merely represent 'a series of divinities.' Anyone who chooses to examine the plates in Texier's splendid work may see that it is not so. Texier has himself described the scenes fairly enough. Thus he styles plate 75 *La danse des Sacæ*, the dance of the Sacæ, plausibly assuming that it represents the *Σακαίων χορὴν* of Strabo. Besides the male dancers and the three leaders beating time, there are three female figures wearing a turriform head-dress or 'mural crown,' as Mr. Sayce prefers to call it, and bearing emblems, which Mr. Sayce considers expressive of their names. The mural crowns, however, would rather seem to indicate cities, and the peculiar symbol attached to each figure actually presents considerable resemblance to the Egyptian determinative of cities. Otherwise these women might be priestesses, but certainly not goddesses. In plate 76 we appear to see a procession of priests of various grades, bearing different insignia of office, some of which, as Texier observes, are not unlike the standards of the Roman legions. The first tableau is a file of men bearing clubs and other weapons, and preceded by others who carry offerings. Why Mr. Sayce should designate as 'gods' the two old long-beards, wearing peculiar helmets with a forward bend, and carrying emblems like the *crux ansata*, it is difficult to understand. The 'two priests' of plate 78 are facsimiles of these two 'gods.' Nor can we see in plate 79 that the deity under the winged solar disk is 'standing on what we may term a Hittite boot.' Texier describes the thing thus: 'The pontiff king bears in the left hand a crooked sceptre (a sort of *lituus*), and in the right a little temple, with two Ionic pillars, in the midst of which is seen the figure of the goddess.' What she stands upon is merely an oblong pedestal.

It is one thing to hold that the general similarity observable in the sculptures known to exist at various points in Asia Minor betokens a relationship and an affinity between these sculptures, and others more or less like them, which are known to exist in the extreme north of Syria, the old land of the *Hetta-Hattai*. It is likely enough that, as Mr. Sayce contends, the art of ancient Babylon found an outlet westwards by the old high road that ran through Carchemish and the cities of

tical in form with that of the stones from Jirbās; and if it were, it would prove nothing, for it occurs on coins of other places besides Tarsus. Such devices are, in fact, common on coins; and one might as well argue that Cyrene was the sound indicated by the plant silphium, as that *tar* (why not *Tarz*?) was the sound indicated by the 'Hittite flower.'

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the *Hetta-Hattai*, receiving large modification on the way from the peculiar genius of its transmitters. But it is another and a wholly different thing to affirm on the ground of this general resemblance in art, eked out by a few doubtful comparisons of proper names, that 'the Hittites were one of the most powerful peoples of the primeval [*sic*] world, their empire extending from the frontier of Egypt to the shores of the *Ægean*,' as Mr. Wright twice quotes from Mr. Isaac Taylor. Mr. Wright poses as a champion of the historical accuracy of Scripture. It is at least certain that the supposed fact of a great Hittite empire would never have been suspected from the Biblical accounts taken alone. We may add that, in our judgment, the monuments do not suggest it either.

We are disposed also to think that similarities have been eagerly caught at and differences overlooked in the desire to establish a 'Hittite' origin for all the Anatolian monuments. As Mr. Rylands has remarked, the costumes of the two figures at Ibreez are very unlike those of the figures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, and the same difference is observable on comparison with the Egyptian picture of the battle of Kadesh, and extends further to form and feature. The monument of 'a king' from Birejik closely resembles the type of Assyrian art which we see in the monoliths of Samsi-Ramman and Assurnasirpal, and differs from the figures at Ibreez and elsewhere. We must also record our doubts as to the 'cartouche' copied by Mr. Sayce from the 'Pseudo-Sesostris' at Karabel. When we have subtracted characters admitted to be doubtful, the rest may fairly be compared with Egyptian symbols. There is also a resemblance between one or two of the signs as given by Mr. Sayce, and the fragment published by Mr. Newton from the base of a column of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. But it is obvious that little can be built, in the way of sound inference, upon an inscription consisting of six or seven more or less weather-worn characters. The 'Niobe of Mount Sipylus' contributes nothing to the solution of the problem, as it is now 'little more than a shapeless mass of stone' (Rylands), and we cannot make anything of the 'cartouche.' Mr. Isaac Taylor writes that 'it is now admitted that the primitive art, the mythology, and the metrical standards of Asia Minor, were to a great extent obtained from the Hittites.' But what, we may ask, is really known about Hittite art, or mythology, or metrical standards? The specifications of the tribute of the kings of the *Hetta* to Thothmes III. do not comprise works of art, such as vases, cups, and dishes, which are obtained from the peoples of Reten *hir*, and are described as works of the *Haru*

or Phenicians. And as to metric standards, no doubt the 'mana of Carchemish' is often mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions; but whether it was a Hittite invention or not we cannot certainly say. It is evident that the Assyrians would give the name to a standard of weight which they obtained from Carchemish, whether it had been originally invented there or not. In like manner 'the independent system of picture-writing,' which is alleged to be the source of the Cypriote character and of the alphabets of Asia Minor in general, but which is still, in Goethe's phrase, a book with seven seals, may have been the invention of some Asiatic race living northwards in Armenia, or westwards towards Cappadocia, or eastwards in the direction of Media. Obviously its prevalence in northern Syria does not prove that it was invented there. But, as we have said before, all these questions must wait for the discovery of that bilingual inscription which, when found, shall prove to be indeed 'the Rosetta Stone of Hittite decipherment.'

ART. II.—THE RISE AND DECAY OF THE ENGLISH YEOMANRY.

1. *History of Agriculture and Prices.* By J. THOROLD ROGERS. (London, 1866.)
2. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.* By J. THOROLD ROGERS. (London, 1884.)
3. *The Industrial Revolution.* By A. TOYNBEE. (London, 1884.)
4. *The Village Community in England.* By F. Seebohm. (London, 1883.)
5. *Report of Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of the Agricultural Interests.* (London, 1881-82.)
6. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Skye Crofters.* (London, 1884.)

THE number of portly volumes that have been recently published on the social history of England is certainly striking when we recall how small a share of attention the subject has sometimes received; not that it has ever been entirely ignored, but that it has been too much regarded as a suitable field for the dilettante investigations of amateur antiquarians rather than a matter for serious study. The change which

has taken place in our day is undoubtedly due to the political importance which social questions are beginning to assume. All matters connected with the ownership of land are being canvassed with increasing keenness, and it is only natural that many minds should be turned to the inquiries how the soil of England came to be concentrated in the hands of such a comparatively small number of owners as possess it now, or how the rights which landlords exercise have come into being. There can be little doubt that it is to their interest in present-day political discussions rather than to any natural turn for antiquarian inquiry that we owe the researches of Professor Thorold Rogers, Mr. Seebohm, and the late Mr. Toynbee.

It is with the first of the two questions mentioned above that we mean to deal at present in examining the rise and decay of the English yeomanry. The word 'yeoman' is itself a vague one. Johnson defines the name in a strict sense as signifying a freeholder, but Lord Bacon used it of 'middle people of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants,' and popular usage seems to accord with this wider application. What we have to say of changes in rural life during the eighteenth century is true of all small farmers, whether they were freeholders or copyholders.

I. For our purpose it is not necessary to go back to very early times, or to discuss the vexed questions as to the completeness of the record in the Domesday Survey, and the precise status of the various classes of tenants enumerated there. It is enough for our purpose to take English rural society as we find it in the beginning of the reign of Edward I., when the Royal Commissioners compiled the *Hundred Rolls*.

The land in each village consisted then, as it often does still, of three parts—the arable fields, the meadow lands, and the common waste. Each occupier of land had rights of pasturing his cattle, gathering fuel and so forth on the waste; but when these needs were sufficiently provided for, the remainder of the waste and its produce belonged to the lord of the manor. The right of cutting grass on each strip of meadow was apportioned, in many cases by lot, among the different occupiers of land, unless they were mere cottars who owned no cattle at all. Part of the arable fields belonged to the lord of the manor, and formed his demesne, and part to the tenants; but, generally speaking, these two portions were not separated. The whole of the arable fields were divided into half-acre strips, and the holdings of the lord and of the

tenants were all intermixed. Not only so, but each of the smaller farms consisted, not of a compact holding, but of a number of these strips, scattered all over the common fields. There may have been a certain fairness in this system, as it rendered the ground of each man equal to that of his neighbours, not only in size, but in quality and exposure; but it entailed great inconveniences. The usual size of holding appears to have been about thirty acres, and it is obvious that there must have been terrible waste and inconvenience in working thirty acres which consisted of sixty parts or more, some of which may have been a mile or two separated from others; this is exhibited in the most convincing manner in the excellent map of Hitchin which Mr. Seeborn has printed in colour to show the true character of the ordinary holding of about thirty acres.

The necessary stock for carrying on the farm was apparently supplied by the lord to each tenant on his entering on the holding, but was subsequently the tenant's property; two oxen, or the fourth part of a team, was the share of stock which each holder of thirty acres required. The lord of the manor, too, had additional teams for ploughing on the demesne lands. So far there is no real difficulty; but when we come to consider the relations between the different classes of occupiers and the lord, we find ourselves face to face with a most complicated problem.

The old writers on tenures enumerate a very great variety of terms on which land might be held, but the *Hundred Rolls* do not recognize these fine distinctions. The tenants are grouped into two great classes, *Libere tenentes* and *Villani*. About the *villani*, and the inferior sub-classes grouped under this heading, there need be no great difficulty; analogous social grades appear in *Domesday Book* and in earlier English documents. But who were the *libere tenentes*, and in what sense were they *liberi*? Did they exist as a class at the time of the Domesday Survey or not? If not, how had they arisen, and what was their exact place in the social scale?

The word 'free' has associations for us that incline us to regard the *libere tenentes* as necessarily better off than those who were servile. But a glance at the *Hundred Rolls* and at the rents which were often paid enables us to see that many of the free tenants must have been comparatively poor and had mere cottages or gardens from the lord. Nor does it appear that they were all free in the sense of not being obliged to render predial services to the lord: there are

many instances¹ of free tenants whose duty it was to labour certain days each year for the lord. Nor does it seem possible to account for these cases by supposing that persons who were free had come to occupy plots to which servile incidents were attached. There is one group of sixteen free socmen,² who were bound to perform many services of different kinds, such as ploughing and carting for the lord. On the other hand, there seem to have been many estates on which the services of the villains were commuted for quit rents. In some instances the lord reserved the right of claiming the labour services or the money payment, whichever suited him (*debet xx s. vel opera ad valorem*³), in some the actual services appear to have been rendered, but to have been defined in terms of money⁴ (*et dictæ precariæ appreciantur ad xv d.*), and in others the money payment was regularly accepted (*reddit pro omnibus operationibus et serviciis quos antecessores sui facere solebant*).⁵ Since some villains were thus free from actual service, and some *libere tenentes* paid actual service, we must look in some other direction than this for the marked feature which distinguished one class from the other.

The real point appears to have been whether there was a definite tie between the person and the estate or no. The estate was stocked with meat and men; the villain went with the estate, he could not change his residence or seek to better his position elsewhere. But of the fully free tenant it is noted in *Domesday Book*, '*potuit absque ejus licentia recedere*,' or, '*et dare et vendere potuit*.'⁶ So, too, in the time of the *Hundred Rolls* certain classes of tenants were called *villani* because they were bound to the estate, and others were *libere tenentes* because they could drive their own bargains and go or come as they pleased. The villain who lived at a quit rent might find that rent very onerous, but he could not give notice, or attempt to insist on a reduction. The free tenant, on the other hand, could throw up his connexion with the estate if he desired to do so. But, though thus free to drive his own bargain, it did not necessarily follow that he preferred a cash payment. It might suit him to agree to work out part of his rent, like William of Swafham, a smith,⁷ who bargained to provide axles and wagon-wheels. So long as he kept his holding he was bound to fulfil this bargain, but it was not

¹ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 478, 479, 496.
² At Swafham Prior, *Rot. Hund.* ii. pp. 484, 485.
³ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 324. ⁴ *Ibid.* 494.
⁵ *Ibid.* 636.
⁶ *Domesday*, i. 195b, 196a. ⁷ *Rot. Hund.* ii. 499.

impossible for him to throw up his holding altogether, and try his fortune in some other place.

It cannot be supposed, however, that there was any permanent separation between the persons who formed these two classes. The villain was sometimes enfranchised, but even when no formal act of this kind took place, there was a tendency for persons of his class to become free, as, for instance, by temporary residence in a town, in cases where the necessary work on the manor could be performed without them. If a manor were well stocked with men, it was hardly to the interest of the lord to retain his hold on additional serfs whom he could not fully employ, and who had apparently a right to demand a fair share of subsistence. On the other hand, it is conceivable that a free tenant might be willing, not only to take a villain's holding on the terms of villain tenure, but to accept a humbler, but less uncertain, position than that to which he was born. However this may be, we can see that as population increased there would certainly be a tendency for the *libere tenentes* to increase in numbers more rapidly than the villains. The conditions of cultivation limited the number of villains that could be profitably retained. In cases where there was so much land in cultivation that no more could be cut out of the waste, the villains' holdings could only be multiplied by subdivision, and this apparently had taken place to a considerable extent between the times of William I. and Edward I., while the cottars and serfs were rather a burden than a gain if they were so numerous that they could not be fully employed; but there was no similar direct check on the free tenants. There is ample proof that the whole population increased between the time of the Domesday Survey and the days of the Edwards, and we cannot be surprised if the class of *libere tenentes* increased more rapidly than the *villani*.

As stated above, the condition and occupations of the *libere tenentes* were very diverse: some had large holdings, and lived on a lease for a term of three lives; others were village artisans, who perhaps had served their apprenticeship in a town, but found remunerative employment by settling in a rural district; others in all probability were mere day labourers, the men of whose existence as a class we first become aware after the Great Plague of 1348. Nor is it hard to understand the place they occupied in the economy of mediæval life: in some cases they may have found employment as labourers on the manorial farm; this may have sometimes proved the cheapest method of carrying on cultivation, as

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less superintendence would be required than when the lord depended on serf-labour for the tillage of his estate. But for another purpose they were certainly of value: the lord could not, generally speaking, take off his villains to assist him in warfare—either as soldiers or servants—without losing the value of their services on his land. In those cases where the services had been entirely commuted for money payment, the result would be different, and where the lord could choose¹ either form of payment—in service or money—the difficulty would not arise; but in earlier times before the more general circulation of coinage rendered commutation possible, the *libere tenentes* were the class from whom attendants and foot soldiers were drawn: their survivors are the basis of our yeomanry regiments to-day, and they furnished the English yeomen who formed the strength of Edward III.'s armies in France. It is quite in accordance with this view that the forerunners of the class of *libere tenentes* who can be most easily identified in *Domesday* are either massed in the counties where the Danish soldiery appear to have settled, or are represented by a solitary *miles* or socman mentioned here and there beside the crowds of villains and cottars. Nor need we wonder at the recurring evidence of the comparisons with the days of the Confessor, which proves that this class—the fighting men—suffered severely by the loss of lives or lands at the time of the Conquest. Till the time when serfdom as an institution began to break up, service in war appears to have been closely connected, as in the earliest days of our Teutonic ancestors, with the status of free Englishmen.

If this account of the condition of the *libere tenentes* is correct, we can easily understand that in the *Domesday Record* they might be ignored, except in so far as they were occupiers of land, on lease or yearly tenancy, since that survey was intended to serve as a basis of taxation, and the values were the chief point to which the inquiry was directed. The *Hundred Rolls* gives us, on the other hand, a much more exhaustive account of the condition of the kingdom, and the numbers and occupations of the *libere tenentes* from whom the yeomen were drawn was a matter of the first importance. We should moreover expect to find that the class of *libere tenentes* was more encouraged, and therefore more numerous, on lands held by military tenure than on the old monastic and church lands: and this opinion is not unconfirmed; though a very careful and exhaustive inquiry would be

¹ All analogy would show that the right to claim one of the two alternatives mentioned rested not with the tenant but the lord.

needed in order to establish it. For this we must look to the increasing energy of local antiquarians and historians.

Strange as is the picture of English life which is drawn for us in the quaint Latin of King Edward's commissioners, it is still more curious to know that a state of society closely similar in all its details has survived in the Highlands of Scotland to the present day, and is described in the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the condition of the Skye crofters.

'In former times in almost every case the Highland township comprised both arable and pasture lands, used in common; the arable area was redistributed at stated periods among the tenants. . . . The separate appropriation of the arable lands was, however, only effective between seed time and harvest, for in winter the fugitive features of individual occupancy were effaced, and the promiscuous herd ranged at large over the naked area of arable and pasture, blended in a common desolation. . . . Towards the close of the last, and in the earlier part of the present, century the arable lands of the township have, except in very rare cases, been lotted, or permanently defined and attached to separate tenancies.'

So far for the condition of the land; there is also a strong superficial resemblance in the classes of the tenantry, though the social grades appear to have depended in the Highlands more on differences of position, and the line between the freeman and the serf is not the one important distinction as in England. Still the tacksman who has a lease, the crofter with a small farm that occupies most of his time, and the cottar all had their analogues in the English system. In Skye till recently the rents were paid in the form of labour dues, but at the present time almost all services and obligations have been commuted in the acceptable shape of a single money rent. In legal status the Highland is in a very different position from the English freeholder, but so far as economic condition is concerned there is the closest parallel possible.

II. Taking the picture of English rural society which the records furnish, we need have little difficulty in understanding how it was affected by the convulsions which marked the fourteenth century. The Black Death which visited England in 1348 swept away something like half the population. Later writers have been inclined to suppose that the chroniclers were tempted to give exaggerated estimates of the ravages of the plague; there would have been every excuse for writers who were carried away by the horror of the calamity into repeating and perpetuating the wildest estimates made by their contemporaries, and there must always

be a great difficulty in arriving at any statement of the probable loss of life throughout England. Such pestilences are often apparently capricious in regard to locality: one hamlet is almost destroyed while another escapes altogether. Both in regard to the course of the plague and its ravages, we can only hope that our knowledge will become more accurate as the stores of local information on the subject are examined and rendered accessible. Sometimes there may be inscriptions like that which Mr. Wilson has deciphered in the tower of Ashwell Church in Hertfordshire:—

M, C ter, X penta, miseranda ferox violenta
[discessit pestis] ; superest plebs pessima testis ;

sometimes there are notes as to changes of tenure ; but the most instructive facts of all are contained in the court rolls of various manors. Mr. Seebohm called attention to the importance of the data drawn from these sources, and Dr. Jessopp has made good use of the hint in regard to East Anglia. These rolls show us when the holdings changed hands through the death of the occupier ; in some cases we may be able to infer that a whole family perished together, and we may often have good grounds for estimating what proportion of the total inhabitants of the village died from the plague. To such evidence as this it is impossible to take exception, and so far as it has been examined it tends on the whole to confirm the accuracy of the accounts given by contemporary writers. But whatever the precise numbers may have been, the proportionate loss of life was so enormous as to have extraordinary effects on the whole industrial system both in town and country. The effect in the rural districts was to accelerate the changes which were already in operation. The commutation of actual services for money payments, which had been going on in previous centuries, proved in all probability a convenience to the lord and a benefit to the tenants ; but after the Black Death, the scarcity of labour was so great, and it became so difficult to exact either the old services, or to procure labour at the old rates, that landowners were reduced to the greatest difficulties. In the case of a chantry endowed in 1348 by Sir Thomas Chedworth, it was found in 1351 that the estate which had been intended to provide two secular priests would only suffice for one, so greatly had the revenues declined, and a new instrument was drawn which alters the original deed of foundation on the ground that, on account of the vast

‘mortality of men in those days . . . lands lie uncultivated in many places, not a few tenements daily and suddenly decay and are

pulled down, rents and services cannot be levied, nor the advantage thereof generally had can be received, but a much smaller profit is obliged to be taken than usual.¹

In fact, the tenants, whether freemen or villains, were masters of the situation. In the rental of the Manor of Rustinton² it is noted how after the great pestilence the lands of the bondsmen lapsed into the hands of the lords and were relet by him for money payments to yearly tenants, so that the whole estate was occupied by *libere tenentes* instead of villains. In other cases the servile form of the tenure remained, but the enforcing of burdensome incidents appears to have ceased: the tenants were still nominally villains or copyholders—*tenentes per virgam*—but neither predial services nor payments in lieu of them could be enforced, and they merely acknowledged the superiority of the lord by paying a fine when they entered on possession. Such instances show how here and there the villains received a dead lift upwards either directly or indirectly from the effects of the Black Death.

One would naturally suppose that the free tenants, who were already in a position to drive their own bargains, would profit still more by the change: and this was in all probability the case. So far as the occupiers of land were concerned, they had more opportunity than ever of securing holdings at moderate rates. The lords were finding it impossible to exact services or procure labour for their demesnes in consequence of the ravages of the Plague; and were beginning to look eagerly for tenants who would take the land off their hands and work it on their own account. Their estates were fully stocked, and as they could procure no labour, their teams were of no use to them; they therefore let their lands on what Mr. Thorold Rogers terms 'stock and land' leases, but let them on such terms that the farmers were for the most part able before long to buy up the stock for themselves, and thus to become ordinary tenant-farmers living on terms very similar to those which exist between landlord and tenant to-day, save that the holdings were less extensive than that of a modern farmer, and that each consisted of a number of scattered half-acre strips, with a patch of meadow-land, and with rights of common. While thus the terms on which the villains worked their holdings were rendered much more favourable, the area of demesne land which was leased out to freeholders was far greater than had hitherto been the

¹ Hailstone's *History of Bottisham*, 278.

² Library, Trin. Coll., Camb., O. 1, 25.

case, as the lord could not, generally speaking, afford to farm any part of it himself, since the rates of wages had risen so much.

The improvement in the condition of the free labourers has attracted far more attention than the changes in the position of the different occupiers of land; but it has not always been wisely interpreted. The labourer, whether in town or country, was able to take advantage of his position to demand much higher wages than had ever been paid before, and from a modern point of view they were fully justified in taking what they could get. But the whole matter presented itself differently to mediæval legislators. The price of commodities was so far as possible arranged by calculations of what was reasonable under the circumstances, not settled by the higgling of the markets. If the necessities of life were scarcer, it was 'reasonable' that more should be paid for wages; but if there was plenty of corn and food, it was unreasonable for the labourer to ask more wages when he required no more support. He appeared to be taking an undue advantage of a national calamity and to be trying to extort gain for himself, on account of the necessities of the landlord. Subsequently when prices had risen it might be fairly, if erroneously, held that this was entirely due to the action of the labourers in refusing to work, and that it was absurd to demand a rise of wages in consequence of the rise of prices which had been artificially created by their own laziness. According to the ideas then current, the *Statute of Labourers*, which insisted that men should work at the old rates, was not an attempt to oppress the poor, but only to reinstate the old order of society which had worked fairly well, and to stem the tide of chaos that seemed to be sweeping over the land and threatening the national prosperity.

The question as to the moral justification of the measures is of comparatively little importance; it could never have been raised by writers who were familiar with the mediæval view of prices, or the grounds of the mediæval objections to usury, engrossing, regrating and the rest. To treat it in any way as specially a landowner's question is equally absurd when we remember that regulation was applied to the conduct of town artisans as well as farm servants, and in some cases—possibly in that of the chantry already referred to—to priests as well. But both in town and country the labourers gained the day, and were able to insist that wages should be paid at rates which secured them a far greater proportion of the comforts of life than they had hitherto known. The free labourers

everywhere, like the villains on many estates, were able to secure a dead lift upwards through the effects of the Black Death; both classes gained at the expense of manorial lords or manorial employers.

Rural society could not, however, be recast in this new mould without a serious struggle. Some landlords endeavoured to retain the traditional system of estate management, and to insist that the villains should render their accustomed services. But even in cases where no commutation had taken place, either usually or occasionally, the villains would feel that it was a grievance that they should have to do for nothing tasks for which other men would have been very highly paid; in cases where the lord was entitled and accustomed to exact either services or money as he chose, he would undoubtedly at this juncture prefer to have the services, as he could not now hire labour at the rates at which these services had been formerly valued. In some cases he may have tried to break through long-established customs, and to require actual services on estates where money payments had been regularly accepted time out of mind. But, apart from the conduct of those lords who defied the progress of the tide, there were enough remnants of the old state of things to rouse the indignation of the villains, and to render them ambitious to shake off all tokens of servitude. Their very success in bettering the conditions of their tenure would stimulate them to attack the restrictions which were still imposed. So far as the causes of the peasants' revolt were social, and not political—and they were really of both kinds—the outbreak was an attempt to turn the virtual freedom which had been secured on some manors into a real freedom; and in those cases where the lords had been able to retain the old manorial system, to secure the same sort of rise that had come to the villains elsewhere.

The most detailed account of the outbreak comes from S. Albans; but the grievances in that town may help us to realize the kind of oppression which called forth the revolt. The townsmen were thirled to the Abbey Mill, and raised once more their old demand to have mills of their own. This seems to have been one of the chief points at issue; but the villains from the abbey estates were undoubtedly ready to join in the outbreak, which could do them no harm and might bring them some gain. The story of their temporary success and subsequent failure is well known; the extorted manumissions were revoked, and they were forced back into nominal villainage again.

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In some cases, and apparently the Winslow¹ estate of S. Albans was among the number, the newly-imposed villainage was only nominal; but, as after events proved, there was a great deal in the name. So far as the actual burdens of predial service were concerned, they must have got lighter year by year, as less and less of the demesne land was kept by the lord in his own hands, and more and more was let on lease; but at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries the manumission of villains was still under discussion,² and actual questions of villainage came before the courts as late as the time of James I.³

III. By the end of the fourteenth century, then, the free labourer had acquired a high rate of wages, and the villain had shaken off the greater part of the disagreeable incidents of his position, even though he retained the old name. But the very success of the free labourer and labouring tenant proved the occasion of a revolution in the character of English farming which affected the poor rural population most disastrously. From the beginning of the fifteenth century English landlords turned their attention increasingly to sheep farming. As the manufacturing skill of the Eastern Counties increased, the home demand for wool improved, and pasturage became more and more profitable, while arable farming, with the high rates asked by the labourers, was carried on almost at a loss. The landowners were therefore anxious to use their estates for pasturage alone; but this could only be done successfully by enclosing. In most cases the lord's demesne all lay intermixed with the tenants' holdings; he could not turn sheep on his half-acre strips without damaging their corn; if he was to use his land in the way he found most profitable, it could only be done by re-allotting the lands, so that he should have all his acres lying together, and be able to enclose them for sheep farming. By the middle of the fifteenth century this system had been very generally adopted. Sir John Fortescue wrote in the time of Henry VI. :—

'The feeding lands likewise are enclosed with hedgerows and ditches, planted with trees which fence the herds and flocks from bleak winds and sultry heats, and are for the most part so well watered that they do not need the attendance of the hind either day or night.'⁴

¹ *Winslow Rolls*, Cambridge University Library, Dd 7, 22, Reign of Henry VI., *passim*. But the frequent entries during this reign of the names of *nativi* who had fled from the estate show that villainage had not fallen into practical oblivion.

² *Journals of House of Lords*, I. 99. ³ Howell's *State Trials*, xx. 40.

⁴ Lord Clermont, *Sir John Fortescue*, i. 413.

And where this rearrangement of land and enclosing of the fields was carried out fairly, it was of great advantage to the tenants also. They, too, were able to have their smaller holdings enclosed. Instead of having to work sixty scattered half-acre strips, the tenant could now have a compact thirty-acre farm, and this farm he could manage in the way he found most remunerative. Hitherto he had had to observe the custom of the manor as to the crops he grew, the time of ploughing, sowing, reaping, and so forth; now he was somewhat free to use his own judgment. Hitherto after harvest his strips of stubble and the balks that bounded them had helped to pasture all the sheep and cattle of the village, wandering at will over open fields and common waste alike; now, by folding his sheep and cattle on his own fields, he could save a great deal of manure, and was not put to the trouble of carting it to the scattered strips that formed his holding. We thus have unanimous testimony that 'enclosing,' when fairly carried out, was of the greatest possible gain, both to the lord of the manor, with his sheep farm, and to the tenant of a small holding. The testimony of Fitzherbert and Tusser is absolutely conclusive on this point.

Under these circumstances, it is a little hard to see why enclosing should have given rise to such bitter complaint as it did in the time of Henry VII. and subsequent Tudor monarchs. Even if a little labour on the demesnes were discarded when they were used for pasture instead of arable farming, the tenants' holdings would afford some scope for employment; the increased wealth of the enclosed villages would be likely to lead to industry of some sort, and to make them convenient centres for the establishment of weaving and other crafts. Even if enclosing caused a change, it might have been such a generally beneficial change that society should soon have accommodated itself to the new conditions.

The real reason of the rural grievances which moved the indignation of Sir Thomas More and Hugh Latimer was not the fact of enclosing, but of unfair enclosing. The lord might enclose a larger area than he was entitled to, or he might refuse to allot new holdings to the old tenants. He might not only enclose a portion of land equal in area to the acres he had in the open field of the village—and to this there could be no objection—but he might also appropriate for his own sheep so much of the common waste as to defraud the tenants of their pasture rights. So long as he reserved sufficient pasture for them he had a right to enclose the waste, but as he himself was practically judge of the question

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how much was enough to reserve, he may often have been tempted to leave them a very insufficient amount of common waste. One case of objectionable enclosing we find in the reign of Henry V., in regard to Chesterton, in a very remarkable complaint against the Prior and Canons of Barnwell, for destroying a royal manor that had come into their hands by using it for pasture farming and letting the houses fall into decay: the fact that it had been a royal manor gave the complainants a *locus standi*.¹

But the grossest unfairness took place on those estates where villainage still nominally existed and tenants held by copy of the court roll. They had ceased to comply with the formal conditions of their tenure, and therefore the lords had a legal justification for refusing to allot them new holdings when the open fields were enclosed. Instead of giving the copyholder a holding of thirty acres in lieu of his sixty scattered strips, the landlord simply refused to allot him any land, on the plea that he had forfeited his legal right to it. Hence, then, on many estates the process of enclosure meant wholesale evictions of copyhold tenants without the granting of any compensation whatever.

Thus began the fall of the yeoman class. The eagerness of the landlords to enclose and take to sheep farming cut at them in two different ways: sometimes their pasture rights were pared down, and when they could not keep their cattle in good condition, it was impossible for them to make their farms pay; in other cases they were merely evicted because they had failed to comply with the strict letter of the conditions on which they held their land. The disastrous change, as it was to them, had been going on slowly and increasingly, and perhaps it might have passed on quietly, had it not been for the sudden way in which the monastic estates changed hands under Henry VIII.; the absentee courtiers who succeeded the monks proceeded to manage their estates on the most approved principles; enclosing went on recklessly, and the country was soon in a blaze. Strype² has preserved for us the fullest accounts of the grievances of which the people complained, and of the ineffectual efforts that were made to remedy them. But the Government was not so unwise as to prevent a change that was really profitable for the country, while it was not so strong as to be able to insist that that change should be carried out fairly. Somerset's Land Com-

¹ It also appears that the Prior had tried to reduce free tenants to the rank of villains. *Rot. Parl.* iv. 58, 60.

² *Memorials*, ii. pt. 1, pp. 145, 210, 267

mission was a dead failure; it could no more remedy the injustice done than the legislation of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. could reintroduce the old conditions of rural life. It was not till the time of Elizabeth that a really statesmanlike effort was made to accept the inevitable change and to limit the evil as far as might be. Ere the Stuarts came to the throne, a very large number of the yeomen of England had succumbed before the invading sheep farmers.

Here again the nature of the change may be rendered clearer to us by an illustration from a present-day agitation. The economic difficulties of the Skye crofters are exactly parallel to those of the English yeomanry in Tudor times; we might say it is the same difficulty appearing at last in a distant part of the country. The evidence before the recent Royal Commission went to show that the crofters could not pay so much rent per acre as the sheep farmers do; there is consequently a strong temptation to factors to diminish their holdings and pasture rights, and when this occurs the crofters can no longer make a living from the very small pieces of land left to them. If we wished to press the analogy we might point out that the great increase in the price of wool has accelerated the change at both times by rendering the graziers' employment specially profitable; that an outcry has in both cases arisen against proprietors who have recently secured the estates; and that absenteeism by diminishing the employment of labour has been an additional grievance. Perhaps we can realize the extent of the indignation in Tudor times most fully by noting the depth of the feeling in Skye at present; and we must remember how much wider was the area over which the English grievance extended, and how different the legal status of the evicted copyholders or impoverished freeholders here.

In sketching thus briefly the course of rural affairs in England, we have been unable to make much use of Mr. Thorold Rogers's books, and may thus incur a share of the indignation which he has lavished on the other writers who seem to have neglected the results of his researches. And some justification is certainly needed for ignoring such a laborious collection of materials as he has provided for the student. Nor have we neglected the materials he has gathered, though we are forced to reject his inferences in many cases. Mr. Thorold Rogers has examined an enormous mass of accounts, and believes that he can reconstruct a picture of English rural society from this basis alone. He forgets that there are equally unimpeachable sources of evidence in contemporary

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descriptions and legislation ; he would have been more wise to take all these witnesses into account and endeavour to harmonize their testimony, rather than to ignore one side of the evidence altogether. If his inferences from his own materials are one-sided, his interpretation of the silence of his authorities is sometimes still more reckless. Since he finds no reference to villains' services in account books, he has written in such a way as to give support to the opinion that the destruction of villainage was entirely due to the revolt of 1381, and to encourage an entirely false estimate of the benefit accruing from violent outbreaks to those who have recourse to them in the hope of redressing real or imagined grievances. To us it seems that villainage decayed because of changes before and after 1381, which rendered the services of villains less profitable, and that the fact that it remained, in name at all events, till Tudor times gives us a clue to understanding the discontents of that era.

Again, the statement that there was no change in English agriculture from Henry III. to Henry VIII. may be true so far as the practice of the art is concerned ; there may have been no change in ploughing or sowing, in the crops raised or anything else of the kind, and on the estates where enclosing did not take place there would of course be no change in the produce. Mr. Thorold Rogers has chiefly examined the accounts of monasteries and corporations on which the old plan was continued till the time of Henry VIII. ; but in this respect these corporations were behind the times. On hundreds of estates enclosing had, for good or evil, already taken place, and on these estates there was all the improvement which comes from greater economy of labour, time, and manure. The change was so striking in tillage itself, and in conjunction with the new pasture farming of the landlords had such wide-reaching results on the rural population, that it is ludicrous to put out of court the evidence of contemporary writers and legislators who noted the change, because no alteration appears in the accounts of corporation estates. Hasty generalizations from even a large mass of evidence are always dangerous, and it is most unfortunate that Mr. Thorold Rogers has failed to see that what held good for many estates was not true even generally, and cannot serve as the basis of statements which can be taken as valid universally.

IV. We must now hasten to the last scene in our story. During the seventeenth century but little change took place in rural matters. Some writers continued to urge the advisability of further enclosures ; but it is not improbable that

where this was effected the freeholders, whose political influence made itself felt in parliament and in the fields of civil war, were able to secure that they should be fairly carried out. But soon after the middle of the eighteenth century another change began; the landowners found that large farms were more profitable than small ones, and began to unite holdings as they fell in. Many causes combined to operate in this direction, but none more forcibly than the decay of domestic manufactures, which followed the invention of machinery. The peasant's wife no longer paid his rent by the profits of her wheel; the loom, too, was put aside, and the family ceased to earn a comfortable livelihood and to pay their way when they had nothing but their holding to look to. The small leaseholders disappeared, the larger farmers could undersell their less fortunate neighbours, and the remains of the yeomanry who had survived the struggle with the graziers disappeared in the fruitless competition with large farms.

The subject is treated at some length in the late Mr. Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution*, a book for which we looked most eagerly, but one that has proved disappointing. One may say so without any disparagement of a work which possesses many merits, which fills a real gap in English literature, and supplies an admirable sketch of the great struggle through which our modern industrial system came into being. To those who knew what the author was, how intimate his knowledge of rural affairs, and how minute his acquaintance with the literature of the eighteenth century, it has been bitter to feel that so little of all his wealth of thought and learning has been spared to us now he is gone. How wonderfully he would have amplified these meagre notes of college lectures the public will never know, nor learn to estimate the extent of the loss which his death has brought to the progress of economic studies. Nor can we be sure that in the solitary chapter of the *Industrial Revolution* which came from his own hand we have the expression of his maturer judgment. In accentuating the political rather than economic influences which brought about the decay of the yeomanry, he seems to have somewhat misjudged the relative importance of two combining causes. The landlords before 1832 could acquire comparatively little political influence by buying up small freeholds; it was for economic reasons they sought to add field to field—for economic reasons, too, that the freeholders were forced to sell them. If we mourn the loss of a middle class of landholders, it is at least something to feel that they were not sacrificed to mere political chicanery or the

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ambition of some magnates to serve their party, but that they passed away first through being worsted in the struggle against sheep farming, and then through the failure that came on men who were working small holdings.

The freeholders were those who held out longest ; but for them another evil was in store : the anxiety of the Government to secure a sufficient food supply for our population led them to look favourably on bills for enclosing the open fields. But the commissioners and lawyers who carried this out often made it ruinously expensive, and the smaller freeholders could not always bear the expense which the process of enclosing, together with the actual cost of fencing, entailed. When a succession of bad seasons came upon men already encumbered with debt the end was reached, and the last of the yeomanry were glad to be quit of their land and their debts together, perhaps with the hope of bettering their fortune in other lands. Those who had not the means or the enterprise for this attempt sank to swell the ranks of the labourers, and to reduce by their competition to still greater poverty a class that had already suffered severely from the very causes that had undone the yeomanry. There are, indeed, one or two districts where the old system of small holdings has to some extent survived. The Isle of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, was remarkable even in the days of Arthur Young for the number of small freeholders who occupied.

'As to property,' he wrote, 'I know nothing more singular respecting it than the great division in the Isle of Axholme. In most of the towns there, for it is not quite general, there is much resemblance to some such parts of France and Flanders. The inhabitants are collected in villages and hamlets, and almost every house you see, except very poor cottages, on the borders of commons, is inhabited by a farmer, the proprietor of his farm of from four or five, or even fewer, to twenty, forty, and more acres, scattered about the open fields, and cultivated with all that minutæ of care and anxiety, by the hands of the family, which are found abroad in the countries mentioned.'

According to the report of the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. S. B. L. Druce, of Lincoln's Inn, the description still holds good of the district, except that the holdings are somewhat more divided than they were in the time of Arthur Young. This has not arisen directly from the practice of sharing the little estate among all the children of a family, as the more common practice appears to be to sell the holding and divide the purchase money. Land is constantly changing hands, and there are comparatively few cases where

the same piece of land has come down to the present occupant through several generations. We have reason to believe that this was true also of the freeholders in Surrey last century; the yeoman family was not rooted to the soil so firmly as is sometimes supposed; the thrifty yeoman rose to the estate of a gentleman, the careless one sank to be a mere labourer, but the little estates frequently changed hands. We may thus take the freeholders of the Isle of Axholme as giving us a sort of contemporary illustration of the condition of the yeomanry last century, and the story of the recent agricultural distress and its effects on them may help us to picture to ourselves the influences to which the old yeomanry succumbed.

The prices paid for the holdings have in general been high; the costs of conveyance are moderate as lawyers' charges go, but there is something of a 'land hunger' in the district, and purchases made in the good times some years ago were often effected at extravagant rates.

'In the Isle of Axholme,' Mr. Druce writes, 'as in other parts of the county where the small freeholders are found, it appeared that a very large number of them had purchased their plots of land themselves; and that they had almost invariably borrowed a large part of the purchase money, fully two-thirds in almost all cases, and in many as much as three-fourths. The money borrowed was not always all borrowed at once, or on a first mortgage, but many had mortgaged their lands a second, and in some cases even a third time.'

'In many cases the freeholder's own money was not much more than enough to pay the deposit money at the sale: the rest of his purchase money he borrowed. When the small freeholder was able to buy his land without borrowing, or with borrowing a little, he did fairly well, but when he had borrowed a large proportion of his purchase money, as was almost always the case, he was much hampered, and had difficulties in paying his way and keeping his head above water.'

This money has in some cases been borrowed at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the effect of the bad seasons of 1879 and 1880 can be easily understood.

'The small freeholders are poor, and now specially so. . . . Vast numbers of them are in arrears with the interest on their mortgages. . . . I asked how, if they were in arrear with the interest on their mortgages to such an extent, they continued to struggle on; what steps were their mortgagees taking to obtain their interest? And in reply I was told that the solicitors in many cases were personally advancing money to pay the mortgagees' interest, so that they (the mortgagees) who had advanced their money on the solicitors' advice

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should not suffer. On my expressing surprise at this, it was admitted that such a state of things could not last long, but that at the present time there was no help for it, for the ordinary remedies of mortgagees were now practically useless. If the mortgagees were to sue the borrowers for the interest, the borrowers had nothing wherewith to pay it; if they attempted to sell the mortgaged lands they would be losers, for the land would not fetch the amount advanced on it.'

With a return of agricultural prosperity, rendering land a saleable commodity, there can be little doubt that considerable changes might occur in the Isle of Axholme. Landlords may be merciful to defaulting tenants, but little is to be hoped from mortgagees; in many cases the borrower has no idea who his real creditor is, and the solicitors could hardly be expected to intercede for men through whose misfortunes they had lost largely. At any rate it was under precisely similar circumstances that the small proprietors in other parts of England disappeared at previous periods of agricultural distress; one instance in point was Hildersham, in Cambridgeshire, at the end of last century, as the other copyholders there had to make way for one of their neighbours from whom they had borrowed largely. Indeed, it has been the interest of moneyed men rather than the ambition of large landowners that has brought about the destruction of the small proprietary in England.

The evidence from the small holdings that survive seems also to show that the landowners have been wise in uniting the smaller tenancies into large farms. Neither in the production of corn nor the breeding of sheep are the small holders so successful as the large farmers of Lincolnshire. The same fact is asserted of the small holdings in Wales by several independent observers. The farming of these small tenants is poor, unskilful, and slovenly; farm-buildings, where they exist at all, are insufficient and makeshift.

'It is impossible for agriculture to make any decided advance in a district where the holdings are so small as to make it unprofitable for the occupier to employ the ordinary mechanical aids, which increase the produce of the farm at the same time that they lessen the cost of production. . . . Landlords ought by degrees to merge their small holdings to save themselves the perpetual expense of restoring so many small farmsteads, which would enable them to give better accommodation for larger holdings, and thus make them more attractive to men of capital and enterprise.'

In view of the constantly increasing difficulties which English agriculturists have to face, there can be little pro-

spect that the remains of the old system of small holdings will long survive. It is no part of our purpose now to weigh the probabilities of a new system of small holdings arising—with men who should devote themselves to spade husbandry, to market gardening, or to the cultivation of other products than the ordinary cereals and farm stock. It may be that by poultry-farming or fruit-farming a new race of cultivating peasantry may come into being; the gain which has attended many of the experiments in granting allotments to labourers, and the marked success of the cultivation in the Channel Islands, render this a possible if not a very probable result. But, should this be the case, it will be a new system growing out of new conditions; there are no signs that the freeholders of the Isle of Axholme are taking to a type of husbandry different from that practised by the large farmers, and they have almost entirely discontinued growing flax, carrots, or any crops but those which are common on arable farms. The logic of history has refuted the claim that a peasant proprietary can use the land to better purpose in the ordinary routine of agriculture than large landowners do; they were forced to give place in turn to the graziers of the sixteenth century and to the large farmers of the eighteenth, because they could not hold their own against them in the open market. It has been our object merely to look at the rural life of the past in the light which is thrown on it by isolated survivals in the present day. The past becomes more intelligible to us when we feel that the controversy between tacksmen and crofters is a repetition on a very small scale of the agitation which brought England to the verge of revolution in the sixteenth century; and that the plight of the Lincolnshire freeholders now gives us a sample of what befell the yeomanry in the eighteenth. Perhaps one should rather say that the crofters are a 'social wreckage,' and mark how this one wave of industrial progress has at length reached the farthest outskirts of the realm; and that the unsatisfactoriness of the small holdings is at length being felt in Lincolnshire, and Wales, while it became apparent last century throughout most of the counties of England. We may indeed deplore the fate of the yeomanry and cultivating peasantry, but we should at least beware of setting ourselves against the stars in their courses; it is no true philanthropy that would encourage men to struggle for their living on a system of culture which our national experience has condemned.

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ART. III.—CHARLES LESLIE AND THE NONJURORS.

1. *Life and Writings of Charles Leslie, M.A., Nonjuring Divine.* By the Rev. R. J. LESLIE, M.A., Vicar of Holbeach S. John. (London, 1885.)
2. *A History of the Nonjurors, &c.* By THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A. (London, 1845.)
3. *The History of the Church of England from the Revolution to the last acts of Convocation (1688-1717).* By the Rev. WILLIAM PALIN, M.A. (London, 1851.)

IN proportion as Churchmen grasp more fully the truth that the Church is a spiritual society, 'established' not by Act of Parliament, but by its Divine Founder, they will appreciate more and more the characters of that little band of men, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who 'reverenced their conscience as a God,' and sacrificed all their worldly prospects, not, as is often erroneously stated, for a political scruple, but for a religious principle, or rather, several religious principles. Scant justice was done to the Nonjurors during their lifetime, and for several generations after their death. Nor is this to be wondered at, for they certainly ran counter to all the various streams of thought which were current during the Georgian era. Roughly speaking, those streams may be said to have set in three different directions. The first and by far the strongest was that which set in the direction of Walpole's famous principle, 'quieta non movere.' The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had, from a religious point of view, been periods of continual unrest. In the eighteenth, people had had enough of religious disputes, and were disposed to 'rest and be thankful.' There was not much difference between Whig and Tory in regard to Church questions during the Georgian era. Both were inclined in their way to support our 'happy establishment,' and, with here and there a brilliant exception, such as George Berkeley, Edmund Burke, and Samuel Horsley, none on either side rose above the idea of an establishment. The Methodist and Evangelical movements stirred the sluggish waters, but certainly did not draw them into the direction of Churchmanship as it was understood by the Nonjurors. And, finally, there was the sceptical movement, which spread far wider than would appear to the superficial observer, embracing, as it did, all the various

phases of Arianism, Socinianism, Unitarianism, Deism, and downright Atheism.

Now it is obvious that the principles and practices of the Nonjurors would be alike obnoxious to all these movements. What could those comfortable Churchmen who were for ever extolling 'our happy establishment in Church and State' think of men whose very *raison d'être* was a conviction that the establishment neither of the one nor the other was particularly happy? The Evangelicals and the Nonjurors were of course at the opposite poles of the theological compass, and the sceptics received some of their shrewdest blows from the Nonjurors, who were, without an exception, their uncompromising foes. So the sympathy which was undoubtedly felt with the nonjuring movement in its infancy soon died out, and has not been much revived until the present day. Indeed, the later historians have rather created against them a positive antipathy; Hallam, Macaulay, Stanhope, Green, Buckle, all leave an impression more or less unfavourable. But it is high time that readers should have their attention drawn to the other side of the question; and therefore we welcome an effort made to do justice to one of the ablest and most prominent of the Nonjurors.

A Life of Charles Leslie by one who himself bears the honoured name of Leslie, and who (though he modestly leaves us to infer this for ourselves) appears from incidental remarks in his book to be of the same family, deserves careful perusal. And let us say at the outset that this biography is entirely free from a fault too common in biographies written by admiring relatives. It is a biography, not a panegyric. The writer is evidently a man of independent judgment, with strong opinions of his own on matters both ecclesiastical and political; and he is by no means inclined to play Polonius to Charles Leslie's or anybody else's Hamlet. Within the first forty pages we find him entirely differing from his hero on the expediency of making clergymen magistrates, demurring to the notion that Charles Leslie was either the leader or the most distinguished man among the Nonjurors, and disallowing the validity of his excuse for King James in relation to Tyrconnel's proceedings in Ireland. It is the same throughout the book; so that the reader may feel confident that he will here have an honest opinion, whether he agree with it or not; that he will have, in fact, Charles Leslie presented to him, not through a distorting medium, but as he appears to the single eye of the writer. Neither does Mr. Leslie shut his eyes to the merits of those who disagreed with

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his hero. The great abilities (and they were very great) of Dean Sherlock, the renegade who was, perhaps, of all men the most obnoxious to the Nonjurors, are fully recognized; justice—in our opinion rather more than justice—is done to the literary powers of Bishop Burnet and Daniel Defoe, two men who differed as widely as men could do from Charles Leslie; and the friendly kindness of Bishop White Kennett is handsomely appreciated, in spite of the divergence both in opinions and conduct between him and the subject of the biography. In some cases, notably in that of the excellent Archbishop Sharp, we should certainly take a higher estimate of character than Mr. Leslie has done; but this only brings out in stronger relief the desire to do justice to opponents, of which the above instances are specimens.

The chief defect of the book is its typographical inaccuracy. To give only a few specimens: we have, *e.g.* in p. 8, *Lothbury's* for *Lathbury's* 'History of the Nonjurors'; in p. 77 *Secretary's* for *Secretan's* 'Life of Robert Nelson'; in p. 74 Dr. Hickes, Dean of *Westminster* for 'Worcester'; in p. 76, *mitigated*, evidently for 'militated,' and in p. 79 *hail*, probably for 'hale'; in p. 122, Dr. Kennet, Bishop of *Lincoln* for 'Peterborough'; in p. 129, Gallienus *redivus* for 'redivivus'; in p. 231 *formerly* for 'formally'; in p. 235 Dr. *Grenville* for Dr. 'Granville'; in p. 123, note, Dr. *Weldon* for Dr. Welton; in p. 498 George *III.* for George I.; in p. 261, in the commencement of the *seventeenth* century for 'eighteenth'; in p. 255 'to *objure*' for 'abjure.' It may sound hypercritical to notice that Archbishop Sharp spelt his name without the final 'e' (p. 35) and Hearne with it (p. 266), but it is as well to be correct, even in trifles.

The facts of Charles Leslie's life may be very briefly stated. He was born at Dublin in 1650, being the second son of John Leslie, successively Bishop of the Isles in Scotland and of Raphoe and Clogher in Ireland. He was educated at Enniskillen school, and at the age of fourteen matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, as a fellow-commoner. Having taken his degrees without distinction, he became a student of the Temple, in London, and was a barrister without much practice for ten years. At the age of thirty he received Holy Orders, and lived with his elder brother on the family estate at Glaslough, acting as curate at the parish church. He married the daughter of Dr. Griffith, Dean of Ross. In 1686 he was made Chancellor of Connor, a post of small value, but of some dignity. His constant friend, Henry, the second Earl of Clarendon, recommended him for

this post to the bishop of the diocese as a man 'of good parts, admirable learning, an excellent preacher, and of incomparable life.' At Glaslough, besides his clerical duties, he was an active and useful justice of the peace. Upon the Revolution he declined to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, lost his small preferment, and was obliged to remove himself and his family from Glaslough. After a visit to the Isle of Wight he settled in London, and was appointed private chaplain to Lord Clarendon; he never took any regular cure, but he was a frequent and acceptable preacher at the various places in which the Nonjurors worshipped, and he was frequently resorted to as a casuist. For more than a year he lodged with his family in the house of a Quaker, of all places in the world; and thus acquired that full knowledge of the peculiar tenets and practices of the sect which afterwards took shape in *The Snake in the Grass*, and other works. It is said that on one occasion the Quakers were so exasperated that they conspired to make away with him; but as a general rule he managed to combine strong disagreement in opinion with personal friendship. He won over his landlord and family, and several other Quakers, to the Church, and was on most friendly terms with William Penn, by far the most distinguished member of the sect. In fact he so far commended himself to the body that they invited him to a public entertainment in testimony of their esteem and good-will. He entered much into general society, in which he was very popular; his nonjuring principles being a help rather than a hindrance to his popularity, as anyone who is acquainted with the tone of feeling prevalent at the time can well believe; he was fond of country sports, and was well acquainted with the lighter literature and current topics of the day. And he was by no means a narrow-minded bigot; he tried to allay the disputes between the Nonjurors and the Established Church, made a point of attending the parish churches where the Nonjurors had no chapel of their own, desired no question to be raised about Queen Anne's title, and disapproved of all plots of a secret character. At the same time he was firm as a rock to his nonjuring principles, from which Bishop Burnet in vain attempted to lure him away by the offer of ecclesiastical preferment, and he was a kind friend to his distressed brethren, helping them largely out of his own scanty means. He went over two or three times to S. Germain to confer with James II., who always received him kindly, though his efforts to win back the exiled monarch to the Church of his baptism were un-

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availing; but the extent of his communications with James has been, his biographer tells us, greatly exaggerated. In 1709 he would not join with those Nonjurors who, on the death of Bishop Lloyd, returned to the Established Church. On August 8, 1710, he was outlawed for failing to put in an appearance when a warrant was issued against him for writing 'The Good Old Cause, or Lying in Truth,' against Bishop Burnet. For six months he lived in concealment in a house provided for him at White Waltham, by the excellent Mr. Francis Cherry, of Shottesbrook Park. In 1711 he went to S. Germain, and in 1713 settled at Bar-le-Duc. There he was graciously received by the Chevalier, who did not, as Viscount Bolingbroke asserts, treat him badly, though he was proof against Leslie's efforts to win him over to the Church of England. But Leslie rendered himself very useful by ministering to the Protestants of the Chevalier's household. After the accession of George I. he was allowed to return to his native country, the king himself generously declaring that 'the old man should come home and die in peace.' In the disputes which arose among the Nonjurors respecting the 'Usages,' Leslie was on the side of those who were against their introduction. When his death approached, he characteristically expressed a wish that his theological works should all be published for the good of the Church of England, but said nothing about his political works, evidently desiring that his part in that controversy should die with him. He died April 13, 1722, and was buried at Glaslough.

Charles Leslie, like most of the nonjuring divines to whom enforced leisure gave ample opportunity for literary work, was perpetually busy with his pen, and not one of them used it with greater effect. By a happy thought he hit upon a project for which he was admirably qualified. Learned and elaborate defences of the Faith had never been wanting in the Church of England, least of all during the Caroline age, which was the golden age of English theology. But the ponderous volumes were written for the learned, or, at least, for those who had talents and leisure to digest them. Short treatises, grasping the salient points of each controversy, and written in a plain, effective style, were much wanted, and that want Charles Leslie supplied in his *Short and Easy Methods*. He was thoroughly acquainted with the subjects of which he treated; he had mixed more than most clergymen with the laity, and knew exactly what they wanted. He was a powerful and most lucid reasoner, 'a reasoner,' said Dr. Johnson, 'not to be reasoned against,' and he was master of a style

which was just adapted for the purpose. Another point which Charles Leslie brought out most clearly in his writings was the true position of the Church in its relation to the State; in other words, its independency in purely spiritual matters. This is the main subject of the *Regale and Pontificale*, the immediate object of which was to justify the consecration of nonjuring suffragan bishops. The original design of all his theological writings was, his biographer tells us, 'to provide a complete armoury of defence for the Church of England against her various antagonists, within and without.' In the latter class he included Deists, Jews, Socinians, and Quakers. The *Short and Easy Methods* dealt with the two former. His tracts on the Socinian controversy fill one whole volume out of the seven in which his theological works have been published, and they are well worthy of taking their place among the many able works which were published by Anglican divines in his day against that dangerous heresy. But it is with the Quakers that he deals most at length. His writings on this subject fill at least three out of the seven volumes, and include those written under the suggestive titles, *The Snake in the Grass* and *Satan Disrobed*. Among his other writings, perhaps the most striking is *The Wolf stript of his Shepherd's Clothing*, written on the then burning question of 'occasional conformity,' and of course condemning the practice. His less known, though equally able, political writings were chiefly contained in a weekly paper which he edited, entitled *The Rehearsal*.

To pass on to a wider subject. Charles Leslie is, for several reasons, a suitable peg on which to hang some remarks upon the Nonjurors in general. He was a thoroughly representative man; he was, if not their leader, at any rate one of their ablest writers, and the intimate and valued friend of the most prominent among the first generation of them. Now, the first point that will probably strike the reader of this biography is the exceedingly small space which the exclusive principles of the Nonjurors occupied both in Leslie's life and in his writings. His life was obviously the life, not of a dark plotter, a sort of clerical Guy Faux, but of an open, liberal-minded Christian scholar. His theological writings were almost all devoted to topics in which all good Churchmen would join hands. 'It was,' as his biographer truly remarks (p. 178), 'not to Nonjurors as such in opposition to the establishment, but to the Church of England, he reconciled his converts; not attempting to impose upon them or even recommend the political obligations which he felt

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binding on his own conscience.' This will sound strange to those who think and write of the Nonjurors as 'a sect.' A sect they never were, either in the etymological or the popular sense of the term. A sect is rightly defined by Dr. Johnson as 'a body of men following some particular master.' Now, that is just what the Nonjurors never did, unless the Master is to be called the founder of a sect. 'They never,' writes Mr. Leslie, with perfect truth, 'separated themselves from the Church of England.' If this obvious fact had been grasped, we should never have heard the absurd objection brought against them that 'they died out as a body.' Why, that is just what they desired to do, just what they knew they should do, when the one question which kept them apart from their brethren no longer existed. They would have been utterly unfaithful to their principles if they had wished it otherwise. For their notion of the Church of Christ was not that of a congeries of sects, a sort of happy family bound together by no other tie than that of not actually quarrelling with one another. To hear some people talk, and, worse still, to read what some authors write, one would think that they had, or ought to have had, recourse to some such devices as those we are now familiar with, 'Happy Georges' preaching, and 'Hallelujah lasses' shouting, and a grand tea-meeting on the festival of Good Friday, just to keep the thing going! The Nonjurors have been reproached with being 'a little church without revenues and without temples.' As to being without revenues—well, we have yet to learn that revenues are a test of truth; and as to being without temples, just fancy a temple erected on the principle—

'They've built the front, upon my word,
As fine as any abbey,
But, thinking they can cheat the Lord,
They've built the back part shabby'—

with the honoured names of John Kettlewell, Thomas Ken, Charles Leslie, William Law, Jeremy Collier, inscribed in large letters on foundation stones, at the rate of 10*l.* a name! 'They sank into obscurity and contempt!' What! Did the individuals thus sink? or did their writings thus sink? Are the names mentioned above obscure and contemptible? or are the *Measures of Christian Obedience*, the *Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns*, the *Short and Easy Methods*, the *Serious Call*, the *Ecclesiastical History*, obscure and contemptible? Certainly not, Lord Macaulay (from whom we have quoted the description) himself being witness, for he speaks with

more or less respect of all of them. Their sinking into obscurity and contempt means, being interpreted, that they became absorbed in that in which they all along desired to be absorbed, the Established Church.

Mr. Leslie complains of the unfair treatment which the Nonjurors have received from our popular historians. And certainly not without reason; but it would have been strange had it been otherwise, for these historians are utterly out of sympathy with the Nonjurors, not only in principles, but in taste and temperament. That spirit of calm repose, of religious reserve, of dignity, of poetry, of antiquity, which pervades, *e.g.*, the Book of Common Prayer, found its best living representatives in such Nonjurors as Ken, Kettlewell, Spinckes, and Law, and its direct antipodes in Burnet, the source from which modern historians chiefly derive their impressions. Again, the modern, practical spirit, meaning by 'practical' an absorbing interest in such questions as 'What is papier-maché?' and 'How are buttons made?'¹ is quite alien to the spirit of the Nonjurors. Thomas Ken singing his own 'Glory to Thee, my God, this night' to the accompaniment of his own lute, or William Law composing exquisitely beautiful prayers simply for the use of the little girls in his charity schools or the 'Ancient Maidens' in his almshouses, would seem mere drivellers in the eyes of these 'practical' men. The Nonjurors are perpetually referring to 'Catholic antiquity.' What does our practical man care about Catholic antiquity? Modern Birmingham is much more in his way. And it is by no means intended to depreciate modern Birmingham; only, just as there is a beauty to some eyes in the grey, crumbling, lichen-covered village church, which is lacking in the smartest of the stucco villas which seem to be the objects of Lord Macaulay's enthusiastic admiration, so there is a beauty in the characters of these 'standers upon the old ways' which is lacking in the go-a-head pioneers of modern enterprise.

We have spoken of Lord Macaulay; but we quite agree with Mr. Leslie that friends of the Nonjurors have a far greater grievance against Hallam. Lord Macaulay is so obviously an advocate holding a brief against the Nonjurors, that one would have thought that no one would take his *ex parte* statements as impartial history. But Hallam assumes the judicial attitude. With a solemn air of absolute impartiality he begins, 'On the whole I am inclined to think,' and then pro-

¹ Mr. Matthew Arnold.

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ceeds to deliver his judgment, which is more one-sided than Lord Macaulay's own. In *his* case, too, we must take taste and temperament as well as principles into account. That hard, dry, stolid, unimaginative temperament, which is perfectly marvellous to observe in the father of Arthur Hallam, rendered it absolutely impossible for him to view any matters from the standpoint of the Nonjurors. These two writers (with Bishop Burnet as the 'fons et origo mali') are really *the* two from whom the vast majority of 'general readers' take their impressions of the Nonjurors. Some years ago one would have added a third—Mr. Buckle. But if there be anyone who still regards Mr. Buckle as an authority on such a subject, let him ponder on the indignant, but well-deserved, protest of Mr. Gladstone:—

'Buckle forsooth bears witness! Quote, if you choose, publicans on liquor laws, or slave-drivers on the capacities of blacks; cite Martial as a witness to purity, or Bacchus to sobriety; put Danton to conduct a bloodless revolution, or swear in the Gracchi as special constables; but do not set up Mr. Buckle as an arbiter of judicial measures, nor let the fame of anything that is called a religion or a clergy depend upon his nod.'¹

One instance out of many may be adduced as a proof of the extraordinarily unfair treatment the Nonjurors have met with from our popular historians. If one man more than another was regarded as the leader of the Nonjurors it was Archbishop Sancroft. From Macaulay and Hallam we should gather that Sancroft was all but, from Buckle that he was quite, an idiot—an obstructive, drivelling idiot, whose friends would have done well to cast a decent veil over everything he said, did, or wrote, and charitably suffer him to sink into oblivion. Now let us see what his contemporaries thought of him, Dryden in exceedingly good poetry,² Swift in exceedingly bad,³ lauded him to the skies. The Princess of Orange, of all people in the world, wrote in 1687 that she had heard so much of his reputation that she was resolved to know him. Bishop Turner wrote to him in 1689 in terms which show that he was regarded by his fellow-thinkers as the most learned of them all: 'without compliment your Grace is

¹ *Gleanings*, ii. 324.

² See his account of 'Zadok' in *Absalom and Achitophel*.

³ See his *Ode to Truth*—

'There some high place to Sancroft will be given
In the metropolis of Heaven,
Chief of the mitred saints, and from archprelate here
Translated to archangel there.'

better versed than all of us together,'¹ &c. Bishop Nicolson, when urging his clergy to conform to the new settlement, tells them plainly that 'the main objection to the Revolution government is Archbishop Sancroft's declining to pay allegiance to it,' and confesses that 'his example ought to carry a great deal of authority with it.'² Bishop Compton, a man of very different views, said of him: 'It was the unhappiness of that great and good man, but much more of the Church, that his conscience could not let him comply in all points with the Revolution.'³ Hearne⁴ praises 'his extraordinary piety, learning, eloquence, and modesty.' Nelson⁵ can hardly find strong enough language to express his admiration of him. Bishop Wake speaks of him as 'that great and wise prelate'; Bishop Lake 'always valued as the principal honour and felicity of his life his friendship with Archbishop Sancroft.' In fact, with the single exception of Burnet, it is not easy to find one contemporary, or nearly contemporary, Churchman who does not speak with the utmost respect of his character; and Burnet's charges were immediately and indignantly refuted. And this is the man of whom all that can be said is that 'he did not make any remarkable figure,'⁶ that he 'was under a complete delusion as to his own importance,' 'a narrow-minded, peevish old man,'⁷ that he was 'exposed to the contempt even of his own profession,' and 'was as much despised as his predecessor had been hated!'⁸ 'His own profession' resolves itself into Bishop Burnet, who alone is quoted to justify the assertion. Could Mr. Buckle really suppose that Burnet was a fair and full representative of 'his own profession'? and could he be ignorant that one of 'his own profession,' who at least was not contemptible, Dean Swift, branded Burnet's charge against Sancroft as being 'false as hell'?

But, in fact, our popular English historians are so obviously biassed that to gain a fairer view we must turn to a foreigner, Leopold von Ranke, not because he has any particular favour for the Anglican Church, but simply because, being a foreigner, and a very competent one, he looks at facts with an unjaundiced eye, and not through the distorting medium of insular prejudice.

There appears, however, to be a disposition to treat now

¹ *Clarendon Correspondence*, ii. 507.

² *Nicolson's Correspondence*, i. 11.

⁴ *Diary* for Aug. 5, 1706.

⁶ Hallam's *Constitutional History*, iii. 108.

⁷ Macaulay's *History of England*, ii. 258, 259.

⁸ Buckle, *History of Civilization*, i. 358.

³ *Life of Compton*.

⁵ *Life of Bull*, p. 355.

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of the other side of the nonjuring question. Some years have elapsed since Mr. Secretan gave the public a *Life of the excellent Robert Nelson*; more recently Mr. Overton has drawn a picture of that very remarkable man, William Law. We have now to thank Mr. Leslie for calling attention to another famous Nonjuror. We are promised a fuller and more correct *Life of the saintly Bishop Ken* than any which has yet appeared, and we hope some competent person will take the hint Mr. Leslie throws out, and give us a *Life of Dean Hickes* which will present the character of that very able man in a fair light. That a general and adequate history of the Nonjurors as a body may in time be written is a consummation devoutly to be wished; for we quite agree with Mr. Leslie that Mr. Lathbury's history is but an imperfect performance; so also is Mr. Palin's, a work now almost unknown. Only let us hope that, when it is done, it will be done really well; not in an angry, partisan spirit, but with calm judicial impartiality. That is all that is needed. The Nonjurors can well afford to dispense with violent advocacy; a fair field and no favour is all that they demand. Moreover the author must have that literary power which alone can command attention; truth is 'great,' but it will not 'prevail' unless it be presented with some graces of style. 'Exoriare aliquis' endowed with these necessary qualifications.

Meanwhile let us endeavour to clear a few points in connexion with the Nonjurors. The very name 'nonjuror' is a little misleading. It of course connotes, properly enough, that those who were so called refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary in 1689, and to George I. in 1714; but it suggests, though it does not necessarily imply, more than this. It was quite an unusual course to impose the renewal of an oath on the accession of a new sovereign; and its reimposition could only be justified on the ground that those on whom it was imposed were going to disturb the new government. Now the Nonjurors as a body were quite ready to live peaceably; they were only prevented by conscientious scruples from renouncing under oath the allegiance which they had already sworn. It also implies that the whole point in dispute lay in the taking or not taking an oath; but that was by no means the case. In the view of the Nonjurors it was at least as important a question, 'Who were their rightful bishops?' as 'Who was their rightful sovereign?' and they regarded it as gross Erastianism to accept as rightful bishops those who had been thrust, simply by an exercise of the civil power, into sees not canonically

vacant. The Abjuration Act of 1702, which forced them not only to accept the sovereign whom the nation chose, but also actually to abjure him whom they held to have an indisputable title, increased their difficulties ; and, finally, that was surely no trivial or merely sentimental difficulty which they felt in joining in the prayers for the new sovereign. The plan of showing, positively or negatively, their dissent to these particular petitions while they joined in the rest was obviously unsatisfactory. It will be observed that all this is really distinct from the vexed questions of divine hereditary right, passive obedience and non-resistance, though the Nonjurors might have argued with irresistible force (as Charles Leslie and Thomas Ken did), that those who were now in favour of a parliamentary title once contended as vehemently as any Nonjuror did for their doctrines. Patrick, Stillingfleet, Sharp, Sherlock, and even Tillotson and Burnet, had to eat their own words when they justified the Revolution settlement. But, waiving this moot point, it cannot be too strongly impressed upon the reader that the question with the Nonjurors was a religious, not a political, question ; and this, not only in the interests of historical truth, but still more to enable him to appreciate duly the practical importance of the nonjuring controversy in the present day. If it had been a mere political question, it might have been allowed to sink into the limbo of forgotten things. The whole Jacobite controversy is dead and buried, without hope of a resurrection in any form ; one of the most unlikely things in the world is that we shall ever be required to call in the aid of a foreign 'deliverer.' But the religious question is one of ever-present interest. There is as much need now as there was nearly 200 years ago, to do battle for the Church against the encroachments of the State. The Nonjurors stand forth as noble confessors in the interests of that Church from which they never for one moment dreamed of separating themselves. Their temporary separation was, in the discriminating language of John Kettlewell, 'a separation *in* the Church of England,' not a separation *from* it. One and all they would have cordially endorsed the fine, outspoken utterances of Charles Leslie—

'When did I distinguish myself from that Church which her rubrics and canons appoint? I'm sure I never had any other Church, and I hope I never shall, unless she be taken from us. I'm resolved, with the grace of God, to keep close to her while one rag of hers is left together. And now I'll tell you freely, sir, if I have any scruples concerning the Church of England, it is that she may leave me and not I her ; that is, that she may die before me, which God of His infinite mercy prevent.' (*Life*, p. 337.)

The nonjuring question assumed a new phase on the death of Queen Anne; few, if any, of the Nonjurors were disposed to dispute by any overt act the Queen's title; but that of George I. was a very different matter. There was of course this important difference between the case of 1689 and that of 1714; that in 1714 there was not the obstacle to allegiance of an oath previously taken; but in other respects the difficulties were immeasurably greater. The break in the succession in 1689 was really very slight. The new joint sovereigns were, one the daughter, and the other the nephew as well as the son-in-law, of the exiled monarch. Mary was of course English by birth and education, and William was at least no stranger to England. But George I. was a foreigner in every sense of the term; there were numbers—Mr. R. J. Leslie says fifty-seven—who had a prior right to the throne; he could not speak English and did not care to learn. As to his religion—well, the less said about that the better; he was not a Romanist, and that was a point in his favour with the Nonjurors as much as with the most ultra-Protestant in the kingdom; but it was hardly likely that one who was, if he was anything, a German Lutheran, would be a particularly acceptable Defender of the Faith in the eyes of any sound Churchman. If James II. had offended, his son had not, and if the Nonjurors had not actually sworn allegiance to the son as they had to the father, they were bound to him by every principle of honour. Those who refused the oaths in 1714 will bear comparison with those who refused them in 1689. If Ken, Kettlewell, Leslie and Hickee are great names, so also are Carte, Law, Brett, and Hearne.

But, instead of making invidious comparisons between these two classes of Nonjurors, it will be more to the point to observe what a remarkable number of works of deep and permanent interest emanated from the pens of both. Robert Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*, plain and unpretentious as the work is, still remains the standard work on that important subject regarded from the practical point of view, and will probably never be superseded. Jeremy Collier's *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage* had more effect than any book, essay, or sermon, in bringing into disrepute the abominable licentiousness of the post-Restoration drama; his ecclesiastical history is one of the most valuable that has ever been written in the English language; and his essay *On the Office of a Chaplain* is a perfect little gem, a most noble vindication of, and wise counsellor to, those who hold that delicate post. Thomas Carte's *History*

of England, and *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, are quite standard works. William Law's *Serious Call* is a most masterly piece of reasoning; so also are his *Letters to the Bishop of Bangor*, which remain unanswered for the best of reasons, because they were unanswerable; while his later mystic works, though they fly above the heads of the many, are so full of exquisitely beautiful thoughts, beautifully expressed, that as mere specimens of literary workmanship they cannot fail to be admired by persons of real culture and taste. George Hickes's *Thesaurus*, or *Treasury of the Northern Languages*, is a perfect storehouse of out-of-the-way knowledge. Thomas Brett's *Collection of Liturgies* is still valuable in the highest degree; Thomas Baker's *Antiquarian Researches* were of immense value; Nathaniel Spinckes's *Devotions* are still used by many pious, cultured souls; Thomas Ken's hymns have passed beyond the region of criticism; Henry Dodwell's voluminous works are at least as conspicuous for their profound learning as for their eccentricity; Charles Leslie's have already been noticed; and the list of nonjuring writings of really high calibre is by no means yet exhausted. And be it observed that all the works noticed above are exclusive of those which the Nonjurors were forced to write in defence of their peculiar position.

All the writers hitherto noticed were men of high and spotless characters; so also were most of those whose names have come down to us. One is, therefore, inclined to regard with suspicion the vague, general hints which Dr. Johnson and others have given of the immorality that prevailed among the rank and file of Nonjurors. 'Dolus latet in generalibus'; and of specific charges brought home to individuals we have few, if any, instances. Much capital has been made of the innuendoes (they are nothing more) of Dr. Johnson. It has been assumed that because he was a staunch Churchman and vehement Tory, his testimony, such as it is, has the value of that of an unwilling witness, who reluctantly owns the truth because, in spite of his predilections, facts are too strong for him. But is there not a fallacy in this assumption? Dr. Johnson now and then talked Jacobitism, but it was only talk; he was, of all things, the supporter of the established order. Now that is just what the Nonjurors were not, and the fact that they were not was quite sufficient to put the doctor out of any real sympathy with them. His insinuations, therefore, against them assuredly require proof, and of proof he gives absolutely none. That a body of clergy, turned loose upon the public, without any employment and without any means

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of subsistence, should have had some feckless characters among them is highly probable; but it really is wonderful, considering the trying nature of their position, how few well-authenticated instances of black sheep among the Nonjurors can be pointed out.

This same want of active employment, combined with great intellectual activity, and also a sense of the uncomfortableness of their position in being separated from those from whom they never desired to be separated, tended no doubt to heighten their internal disputes. The first of those disputes arose directly from the last of these causes. The Nonjurors all agreed that the separation should continue only so long as it was absolutely necessary. The only question was—when did the necessity cease? Some thought that the death of the last but one, and the voluntary resignation of the last 'deprived father,' was a favourable opportunity for healing the schism. The bishops intruded into the sees not canonically vacant were only 'nulli' because they were 'secundi'; when they ceased to be 'secundi,' they ceased also to be 'nulli,' and might rightfully challenge the allegiance of sound Churchmen. To perpetuate the separation by consecrating suffragan bishops to take the places of the deprived fathers was to encourage schism unnecessarily—so argued Dodwell with great force, before the event in his *Case in View*, after it in his *Case in Fact*, and carried with him his friends Nelson, Cherry, and Brokesby. But Hickes argued with equal force on the other side; Charles Leslie and many others agreed with him, and the breach was not healed.

Subsequently the remaining Nonjurors, who received a considerable accession when George I. came to the throne, disagreed about the adoption of what were called 'the Usages,' which amounted practically to the use of the first Prayer Book of King Edward VI. But the extent and acrimony of this dispute have certainly been exaggerated. It has, for instance, been hinted by Carte, and assumed by Lathbury, that William Law took an active part in the dispute on the side of the non-usagers. Now every act of William Law's life is perfectly well known, he was as open as the day-light in the expression of his opinions, and there is not the slightest trace in his life, in his published writings, or in his private correspondence, of his having taken any part whatever in the matter. If he had taken any, it would certainly have been as 'an usager,' but he would never have considered the question of sufficient importance to dispute about.

Mr. R. J. Leslie tells us (p. 1), that Scotland is the part of the

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United Kingdom in which Charles Leslie's name and writings are held in the highest esteem, and we can well believe it. For, while in England the vast majority of the clergy swallowed, with more or less wry faces, the oaths, in Scotland the clergy were Nonjurors almost to a man. To give even the most cursory sketch of the Scotch Nonjurors would far transcend the limits of our space, neither would we uncharitably suggest motives; but it certainly is a fact that where the arguments in favour of the oaths were not backed up by the powerful reasons which establishment and endowment supply they were not so convincing as they were on this side the Tweed, and it is only saying that human nature *is* human nature if we suppose the 'argumentum ad crumenam' convinced some to whom logic might have appealed in vain.

ART. IV.—THE AUTHORSHIP AND AUTHENTICITY OF PAPAL BULLS.

Innocenzo X. (Pamfilì) e la sua Corte. Storia di Roma dal 1644 al 1655. Per IGNAZIO CIAMPI. (Roma, 1878.)

THE remarkable work before us, which introduces us to the authentic history of the weak and luxurious pontificate of Innocent X. in all its manifold bearings on the fortunes of the Church and of the States of Europe, and even on literature and art, has a special interest for those who are engaged in estimating the real authority and importance of the productions of the papal Chancery—the bulls, briefs, encyclicals, and allocutions to which Cardinal Manning has attached so strange and meretricious a value. Hitherto we have been led to consider the question (if indeed it has been deemed worthy of consideration) as involving only the authority of such documents, and have generally left the fruitless discussion and the final decision in the subtle hands of the *maximizers* and *minimizers* of the Roman obedience. By both these classes it has been taken for granted that a bull or brief emanating from the papal Chancery (or we ought perhaps to say the *Dateria*), armed and equipped with the familiar figures of S. Peter and S. Paul, or the 'seal of the Fisherman,' ought to have instant reception and the most loyal execution, if only those useful but humble members of the Curia, the *cursores* of the Pope

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have duly affixed them to the gates of S. Peter's, and of the Chancery, and exhibited them in the Campo di Fiori. It has been even assumed (and this is the doctrine of Zypæus, the learned Archdeacon of Antwerp in the seventeenth century) that the civil authorities have no right to examine into the authenticity of a bull, or to inquire into the circumstances under which it has been obtained,¹ far less to enter upon the more important question whether it is to be received and executed.

Such being the decision of earlier and more moderate Ultramontanians, we cannot wonder that Cardinal Manning, its more unqualified assertor and exponent, should be content with enforcing the absolute and divine authority of the products of the Dateria without venturing to enter upon any inquiry as to their origin or authenticity. 'The definitions and decrees of pontiffs speaking *ex cathedrâ*,' he writes, 'or as the head of the Church, and to the whole Church, whether by bull or apostolic letters, or encyclical or brief, to many or to one person, undoubtedly emanate from the divine assistance.'² Did it never occur to him to inquire how we can be able to establish the authorship or to clear up the authenticity of a mass of documents filling the sixty or seventy volumes of the *Bullarium Magnum*, besides endless supplementary collections of briefs, encyclicals, allocutions, and every other form in which infallibility presents itself before the world? Are these documents written in the heavens and in such legible characters that all whom they are assumed to bind can read them? Or are they not liable to all those incidents and accidents which are inseparable from every human document drawn up by fallible writers and recorded by equally fallible scribes? Can he claim an exemption for them from all those tests to which the authorship and authenticity of every human document must be submitted in order to determine its genuineness? Can he prove that in every case they truly represent the hand or the mind of the Pope and emanate from the infallible *charisma*? Can he prove, further, that they were not the outcome of bribery, intimidation, undue influence, or any other cause which would invalidate any legal instrument whatever? Signor Ciampi, in his higher capacity of a faithful historian of the eleven eventful years of the Pamfili pontificate, has lifted the veil from the secret tabernacle in which the Cardinal supposes a papal bull to have its mysterious and inscrutable origin; and we see

¹ Zypæi de Jurisd. Eccles. et Civil. l. ii. c. 25.

² England and Christendom, Intro. p. lxxix.

before us a very sublunary and ordinary public office in Rome—sacred only to intrigues, fees, and red-tapeism, the Dateria; the scene of the manufacture of all those documents to which the uninstructed believer in the infallibility looks up as 'undoubtedly' the product of a divine inspiration. The wholesale and most successful forgeries of Mascambruni, which form the most romantic and tragic episode in the history of Innocent's pontificate, while they form the special object of our present remarks, lead us back most opportunely to the history of papal bulls and of their falsification, which may truly be said to be coeval with the history itself. We may begin with the observation that in the case of the great and ancient records of our faith all Christians alike admit that their authority depends on their authenticity: upon the fact that they are either the actual production of the writers whose names they bear, or are the authentic reports of their doctrine received as such by the whole Church from the very period when they were its living teachers. We do not conceive for a moment that they are the product of the minds of others, to which they gave an officious consent or affixed an official seal. Still less do we imagine that they knew the recondite distinctions between an *ex-cathedra* and an ordinary utterance. The authenticity and originality of their writings rest upon far higher grounds than those which can be produced for a document which, assuming to be the work of the Pope, is in fact that of a deputy writing under the influence of a political party or a religious order, and merely obtaining an official seal to the heterogeneous production. They did not, nor did their successors, withdraw their work from human criticism and assume it to be exempt from those tests to which every other document is subject, but, like their Lord, appealed to the candour and justice of those whom they addressed, relying more on the artless simplicity of their style and the grandeur of the truths they proclaimed than on any claim of supreme authority and irresponsible power, such as that which Rome in all her bulls and encyclicals asserts *usque ad nauseam*. These characteristics of their teaching were, as Tatian tells us, the chief ground of his conversion to Christianity. The *stylus curiæ* would certainly have never commended it to him, nor the inflated and dictatorial language of the Roman Chancery. Furthermore, the authenticity and integrity of the apostolic writings were early tested on critical as well as on moral grounds. Apocryphal books affecting the names of the apostles and early disciples of our Lord were from the first separated from their genuine works as the chaff from the wheat. And though

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we claim not for those who carried out this great work the *charisma* of infallibility, we dare yet affirm that it was done with 'the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of the fear of the Lord.'

Let us consider the contrast presented at this point by the documents of the modern Papacy. Our inquiry involves these main questions:

1. What is the real origin and authorship of a papal bull?
2. What proof can we have of the genuineness and authenticity of such a document?

1. Cardinal Newman, in his well-known paper 'On Inspiration,' tells us truly that 'there is only one instance (that of the Decalogue) of divine inspiration without a human medium.'¹ 'There always have been two minds in the process of inspiration—a divine *Auctor* and a human *Scriptor*.' And as, in the case of Scripture, he holds both the writers and the writing to be inspired, the security of the work is made impregnable. But in the case of the papal documents we have a third, and, it may be, even a fourth, factor introduced. We have the Pope (the sole depositor of what we cannot but interpret as the *inspiration* in this case) moved by some force or influence altogether external to him (though always affecting a *motus proprius*), and delegating to some more learned and perhaps better qualified cardinal or commission of cardinals, or it may be even to a single domestic prelate, the task of drawing up a long moral or doctrinal statement, which may in its results create altogether a new theology. Let us glance briefly at this claim to supersede the ancient laws and canons of the Church by a supreme authority absolutely unknown to it until the time of Innocent III., in the thirteenth century. 'Up to the time of Innocent III., and even Alexander III.,' writes Bishop Ricci, 'Rome did not assume a legislative tone. The Popes when consulted either relieved doubts or prescribed rules of observance, not alleging their own laws or reservations, but referring always to the authority of tradition and to the canons of the Church.'² Their communications were in the form of letters—sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes (in the more important ones) with lead—*bullatæ literæ*, as Innocent himself calls them, for the term *bulia* had not then been transferred from the seal to the letter itself. Up to this period these letters (if authentic, for they were early and often forged) were the actual products of

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1884.

² *Vie de Scipio de Ricci*, tom. iv. p. 223.

the minds of their writers. For the temporal power was not then so developed as to create a 'Court of Rome,' or at least to suffer the 'Court' to absorb the 'Church' of Rome; nor was there any occasion for the adoption of a legal and diplomatic style. The Popes had not yet put their office into commission or entrusted to delegates an authority which was always held to be personal and therefore not transferable. Great indeed is the contrast between a modern papal bull and an early papal epistle at this point. Bishop Ricci, to whom the shameless intrigues which led on to the bull *Auctorem Fidei* were personally and experimentally known, gives us this opportune warning in regard to the authorship of such documents:

'We would observe here, once for all, that the modern decisions of the Popes can never have the authority that the ancient ones merited; not because their power is diminished, but because such decisions are for the most part private resolutions of congregations, composed for the occasion of simple clergymen, and not in any way the judgments of the Pope deciding at the head of his clergy. . . . Everyone can see that the Roman bulls and decrees . . . are, in their final analysis, no more than the private counsels of some regular or prelate of the court, by whom the Pope himself is often misunderstood, or, even if understood, has given only a private decision, which is all the less to be valued, inasmuch as it transgresses through the spirit of dominion those means which the Church, assisted by God, has prescribed in like cases.'¹

And here Cardinal Newman has given us a new element of difficulty and perplexity. He has suggested that the Popes, like the judges in our courts, are accustomed to insert (even in decrees affecting faith and morals) *obiter dicta*, which do not bind the conscience, as 'they are not contained within the scope of the formal definition.'² But who are to tell us what these are, or where they begin or end?

But following the guidance of our historian into the mazes of the Pamfili pontificate, we find that the celebrated bulls issued by Innocent X. condemning Jansenius and Quesnel, were in no sense the work or inspiration of the Pope himself. He was (we read) '*non molto inclinato alle sottigliezze teologiche*,' and used often to say of himself, '*Io non sono teologo*.' He was told and believed that Jansenius' doctrine and principles 'discredited the papal infallibility,' which constituted the chief article of his creed. Accordingly, in his eagerness to escape from the responsibilities of his position, he handed

¹ *Apol. di alcuni libri pubbl. in Pistoja*, 1787, p. 82, note.

² *On Insp.* p. 14.

over the whole treatment of the great doctrines of grace, which certainly had as little place in his life as in his teaching, to Cardinal Fabio Chigi, his successor in the Papacy. And here we naturally ask, Is the *charisma* of infallibility transferable? or can the mere official signature to the decision of another's judgment constitute such an exercise of it as the Vatican definition requires? Can that be an *ex-cathedrâ* utterance which is merely given by a deputy *in camerâ*? Might not the Pope have exclaimed to the Cardinal, in the words of a still more doubtful prophet, 'Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?' But yet more fatal to these 'luminous decisions of the doctrines of grace' (as Cardinal Manning, in obvious ignorance of their history, terms them) were the methods by which they were procured. The too famous Donna Olimpia Maldachini Pamfili, the sister-in-law of the Pope, that *mostruoso potere d'una femmina in Vaticano*, as Cardinal Pallavicini designates her,¹ was bribed by the Jesuits, as Sismondi has proved, to obtain the condemnation of the Jansenists. For, as we learn from a contemporary source of the highest authority, 'she was the medium of all the graces and concessions granted by the Pope, and there was no official of the palace who did not bribe her with some part of his salary.'² But the delegated authority did not end here. Clement XI. resigned his duty of terminating that great controversy, which the very existence of the congregation *De Auxiliis Gratiæ* proves the Popes incapable of deciding by means of their very useless *charisma*, into the hands of three Cardinals—Albano (his nephew), Ferrari, and Ottoboni. But as the second of these, supported by Cardinal Cassini, endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from taking the extreme course which his younger counsellors, after the manner of Rehoboam's, advised, it was left for Cardinal Fabroni to turn the scale, and the fatal Bull *Unigenitus* was the fruitful result. And here yet another disqualification for a judicial act presents itself. Fabroni was inspired with a special hatred for the Cardinal de Noailles, who had supported the Gallican clergy in their resistance to the Roman pretensions in 1705. He was ably seconded by the Jesuit Tolomei, one of the most relentless of the persecutors of the great and good Cardinal de Tournon for his denunciations of the Jesuit connivance with idolatry in China.³ Passing on from Innocent X., who was 'innocent of' all 'knowledge' of divinity, to his namesake

¹ Ciampi, p. 330.

² Almeyden; cf. Ciampi, pp. 326-9.

³ *La Constitution Unigenitus*, avec des Remarques et des Notes (supposed to be by Quesnel), pp. xiii.-xv.

and successor, Innocent XI. (Odescalchi), one of the best and wisest of the long succession, we find that even he, though a good divine and thoroughly competent, carried on the system of delegation, and confided to the learned Cardinal d'Aguirre the task of determining the questions arising out of the dangerous moral doctrines of Molinos and the Quietists. Even in our own day can it be said that the same principle is not continued? Was Pius IX. actually responsible for the errors of history and theology which bristle in every page of the Bull *Ineffabilis*? Was the Vatican definition the actual inspiration of the same Pope, and not rather a work betraying at the very least a 'dual control'? And even supposing these documents to represent the mind, and to claim the full knowledge and consent of the Popes who have issued or 'expedited' them, can we assign to them any portion of that *charisma* which is supposed to originate with the Pope, and to be the motive power in an *ex-cathedra* utterance? But even supposing that we could trace the origin of a papal bull to this personal *afflatus*, another question must arise on the influences which have led to its promulgation. The most solemn and important legal act of civil life, the last will of one bequeathing temporal property of any kind, fails, and is set aside as void, if it can be proved that undue influence has been exercised over the testator—that the presence of those who ought naturally to have a place in his affections has been removed from him, and an *entourage* of illegitimate influences has prevented him from acting as the free and independent disposer of his estate. Surely, as this law is rigidly observed in the case of a document affecting temporal interests only, it ought to be even more scrupulously obeyed in the case of a decree affecting the spiritual life and interests of millions. Yet it is notorious to all the world, and the history of the last three centuries of the Roman Church, culminating in the wild excesses of the Vatican Assembly, has written the truth in indelible characters, that the doctrinal bulls and briefs of almost all the Popes have been the actual work of the Jesuits—the result of secret influences such as they alone are capable of, made effectual by intrigues, intimidation, or bribery.

2. But we pass on from the authorship of the modern papal bulls to the consideration of the tests we have of their authenticity, of the securities we possess against their falsification, mutilation, or interpolation, or, as we shall see presently, the possibility of the substitution of one for another. As in the day when the genuine gospels obtained a supreme authority a flood of apocryphal writings of every kind poured in

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upon the Church, so when papal bulls superseded the authority of the gospels, a deluge of *bullæ adulterinæ*, *bullæ suppositivæ*, burst in upon it from every direction. Long before the period of Innocent III., who appears in the pages of the canon law as an expert and almost a detective in the case of papal documents, the manufacture of spurious bulls had been a successful and very lucrative occupation in almost all the monasteries of Europe. The profound and universal ignorance of the first principles of criticism, which betrayed itself in the blind acceptance by the clergy of the forged Decretals, the donation of Constantine, and many other like inventions, rendered it easy to palm off upon the less instructed public charters and legal documents of all kinds, whose strange anachronisms and forms of expression would have been instantly detected in a more critical age. Nearly all the charters of the Anglo-Saxon period relating to the great monastery of S. Augustine at Canterbury are on this ground marked by Kemble as spurious, or at least doubtful; while several bulls of the same age have been discarded by Jaffé, as well as by English scholars, as of no authority whatever.¹ Archbishop Richard, of Canterbury, complains that the monastic immunities and exemptions from episcopal control were mostly obtained *bullis adulterinis*, and demands a careful examination of the documents themselves to prove that they were not the work of the *falsarii*.² Some of these documents presented the leaden seal (*bullæ plumbeæ*) before the introduction of that 'signature' by the papal Court. But it was in the direct interest of the Papacy to establish the authority of the regular as against the secular clergy, and to extend over both the forgers and their work that impenetrable *ægis*, the 'liberties of the Roman Church.' It was thus that Pope Lucius III. confirmed the Augustinian claims and the forgeries upon which they rested. But at the period of Innocent III., when this system of forgery had become injurious to the Roman Church itself, and it had become necessary, from the very extent of the development of the papal power, to put some check to these attempts to assume its authority, we find that a general law was put forth, which was incorporated in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and forms the 20th title of the Gregorian Decretals ('De Crimine Falsi'), to put an end to this spurious trade, and to give the true criteria distinguishing a genuine from a false document. The Pope lays down seven

¹ Jaffé, *Regesta Pontiff. Roman.* Berolini, 1851.

² Introd. to Elmham's *Hist. Mon. S. Augustin. Cant.* (Rolls Series), p. xxxi.

methods of falsifying a papal bull, which are not easy to understand clearly, unless we place before us an ancient charter, with its foldings, thread and seal (the one passing through the other), as they were issued before the period when the more modern form of indentures superseded them, and the *signature*, in its later sense, became more important than the seal. The different methods of forgery described by the Pope, and which (as we shall see hereafter) are capable of being supplemented by still more ingenious processes in the Rome of a later day, are as follows:—

(1) The first is, putting a false seal to false letters. This is at once the worst kind of forgery and the easiest to conceive.

(2) The second inserts a new *filum* by which a spurious document may be substituted for the original one.

(3) The third (for the interpretation of which the writer is indebted to the learned Bishop of Chester, the greatest of our modern 'diplomatists') may be effected thus:

'Fold the parchment, run the thread through the fold, and seal the two ends of the thread with the *bullæ*. There will then be part of the thread hidden by the fold of the parchment. In order to carry out the *falsification*, cut the part of the thread that is concealed by the fold, insert it in the false document in a similar fold, and then join the two ends of the thread (covered by the fold) with a thread of similar material.'

(4) For this case, 'the lead of the bull is opened, or the cut of the thread is under the surface of the lead, having been passed through the false document and pushed again into the lead.'

(5) The fifth method proceeds by erasure; (6) the sixth by the obliteration of the whole document and the substitution of a palimpsest; (7) the seventh obliterates the original, but substitutes a page of the thinnest texture, carefully gummed down, as a ground for the new writing.

In view of all these dangers (to which we may well be thankful that the great records of our faith are not exposed), Pope Innocent, in continuation, finds the only safe course to be in the direct reception of the bull from himself or from the sealer of the bull (*bullator*). We may observe here, that the receiver of a modern bull has no such security, nor has he even any proof that the requisite formalities in regard to the promulgation of a bull have been complied with. We find, however, that neither papal sagacity nor monastic obedience could provide any safeguard against the manufacture of surreptitious bulls, which had become an established industry among the

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monastic scribes. According to Eugenius IV., the whole Church, assembled in one of its greatest Councils, was deluded by a forged bull. For the third of the famous bulls against the Council of Basle, which were issued in his name, he pronounces to be a forgery, 'cum a nobis aut de scitu nostro nunquam emanârit.' Nevertheless, the Council required him to retract it with the other two; a prudent course, but one indicating a considerable distrust, not only in the papal Chancery, but in the Pope himself.

It must here awaken surprise in the most ordinary observer, that the papal government has never, in the interests of truth, disavowed any of these forgeries or withdrawn them from circulation. And the reason must be obviously this: they had as their object in almost every case the elevation of the monastic orders, and consequently of the Papacy, above and against the episcopate and the secular clergy—or, if in the form of spurious privileges or indulgences, they had been compounded for by money payments, which in some form or other had reached the chests of the Dateria. The earlier methods of falsification were, however, of too clumsy a character to escape the more critical examination of the post-Tridentine period, and accordingly we find a new system introduced in the middle of the seventeenth century, for the full description of which we are indebted to the work of Ciampi. The startling history of Mascambruni under the pontificate of Innocent X.—the boldness of his forgeries, and his terrible end—form a tragic episode in the midst of a reign of luxury and frivolity which never perhaps had a parallel except in the profligate days of Sixtus IV., or of Leo X. Our guide, who traces with a master-hand every phase and feature of Roman life during the eleven years of the Pamfili pontificate, which, as he shows, opens a new era in the chequered history of the Papacy—a new starting-point in its policy—has had the advantage of all those authorities and documents which the altered state of Rome has secured to the historical student. In opening the Mascambruni tragedy, he first introduces us to the Dateria, that central warehouse of papal bulls, briefs, 'graces,' dispensations, and indulgences, and also of the early successes and terrible doom of the greatest *falsarius* of modern times.

'The Dateria,' he writes, 'that great fountain of wealth, is the private treasure-chest of the Pope. It receives, for his advantage, on the one side the fruits of all vacant benefices, and all the revenues accruing from indulgences, dispensations, faculties, and other like resources devolving to him; it returns on the other side, under the

name of benefices, prebends and pensions of every kind. The jealous office of Datario was conferred, in the beginning of Innocent's reign, somewhat suddenly on Mgr. Domenico Cecchini, born in Rome, the son of Domizio and of Fausta Capizucchi, in the year 1589. Made Cardinal in the March of 1645, on the ground of his having laboured much in the Conclave in favour of Innocent, he was called, as was customary, Prodatario. But inasmuch as the revenues of the Dateria were those with which Donna Olimpia was accustomed to satisfy her greed, Cecchini was very soon regarded by her with a jealous eye; and all the more from the fact that Cecchini had a cousin, Clemenzia, through whom a ground of calumny might arise. The ears of Innocent were constantly molested with accusations against Cecchini, with horrible pictures of the state of the Dateria, in which it was alleged everything was robbery and pillage.

'If the Pope had given a ready ear to these insinuations and open accusations, he would not, perhaps, however doubtful, have delayed the dismissal of Cecchini. But it does not appear that he was persuaded into so great a wrong, and confined himself at present to the placing in guard over the Cardinal a subaltern in the same office—ever an immoral course, and often fruitful in the worst results. The subaltern charged with acting as a spy against his chief was Francis Canonici, called Mascambruni. . . . The object of this man was the acquisition of wealth above everything, and to leap up to the highest point, even though he passed over the bodies of his friends and benefactors in his attempt: . . . At one time he was wholly and body and soul for Donna Olimpia. He promoted the marriage of Don Camillo (Pamfil) with the Princess of Rossano, and then used his influence to keep them longer in exile. When the married couple returned, being received with great rejoicings by Rossano, he threw himself wholly into their party, threatening Donna Olimpia, Panciroli, Cardinal Astalli, and Cecchini, and whoever placed any obstacle in his way. . . . Innocent always received Mascambruni with a certain degree of pleasure, and having given him the charge of watching over Cecchini, heard willingly his calumnious relations. At length matters reached such a point that the Cardinal Prodatario was refused an audience, and the subdatory often carried on continuous conferences with the Pope. The wickedness of Mascambruni exercised itself meantime in the Dateria in delinquencies far greater than those which he imputed to others. Selling indulgences (*grasie*) and falsifying bulls, although he had only as the salary of his office six or seven hundred scudi a year, in two years' time he rejoiced in a capital of 180,000 scudi, and a yearly revenue of eight thousand in simple benefices alone. He was not wise, and the security and impunity of his misdoings rendered him rash. Great was the harvest he reaped at the time of Olimpia's disgrace, and in the summer and autumn of 1651, when the Pope was laid up with gout, and Cecchini was not received in audience, under the pretext that a cardinal could not, on account of the dignity of the purple, be made to wait a long time in the antechamber. The plan which Mascambruni adopted for his falsifications is described in two different manners, but probably he

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adopted first one and then the other. According to some, he placed at the top of a large sheet the title and summary of the supplication, and these were such as the Pope could not but approve of. There was left underneath a blank space. After this was drawn out the supplication which Mascambruni advanced, but which would not have been listened to by the Pope, if he had read it. At the foot of the supplication the Pope, who was contented to read only the title and summary, added his signature. Mascambruni, returning home, cut off the title and the summary, placed in the blank space the title and summary which corresponded with the written supplication, and with the bold and true subscription, the genuine autograph of the Pope, expedited the document without opposition through all the offices, and if the Pope sometimes, having read the title and the summary, hinted the wish to read further, Mascambruni, under the pretence of having been mistaken, rapidly abstracted the document. Others, on the contrary, believe that he left in the page a small space in the beginning of it, and wrote a very innocent supplication. The Pope, subscribing it, left a considerable margin between his own name and the text of the supplication. Mascambruni cut off the supplication, and on the space left blank by the Pope set forth the writing which better suited his purpose. . . . It may be, I repeat, that Mascambruni adopted both the one and the other method as occasion required. . . . At last, however, came the evil day in which he paid the penalty both of the bulls which he had expedited, of which the number is unknown, and also of the seventy which were recovered in his house, and which had not yet been sent to those expecting them, because they had not hastened their arrival by the transmission of the respective fees.

For the ruin of Mascambruni, it happened that a certain Portuguese noble . . . whom I have found to have been the Count of Villafranca, had committed a sin, which, for its horrible character, is called *nefando*. At that time there was in Portugal a papal law that the trial of such crimes should be carried on by the Inquisition alone. The Count . . . who knew that it would be useless to procure a dispensation in the regular way, bethought himself of a recourse to Mascambruni, promising him twelve thousand golden doubloons if he could obtain for him the means of being tried by a lay-tribunal instead of the terrible tribunal of the Inquisition. Can it be doubted that Mascambruni at once occupied himself upon the matter with all zeal? The dispensation was granted in such terms that the cause, though not taken away from the Inquisition, was remitted to a bishop who was the near relation of the Count. But the bull was not yet expedited when the rumour of so conspicuous a "grace," and one so exceptional, spread from Rome to Portugal and from Portugal to Rome. The assistant of that country, the Jesuit Brandano, rushed breathlessly to Chigi, and from Chigi to the Pope, to discover whether the monstrous case could be true. A Mgr. Mendoza, a Portuguese, presented himself with the same inquiry to Innocent, who absolutely denied having signed such a concession, and declared that the thing could not have a shadow of probability.

'Nevertheless he called this time Cecchini, and charged him to make the necessary inquiries in order to take summary cognizance of the affair. After diligent search it was found that the bull had not passed through the Dateria, but through the office of opposed causes in Chancery (*P' ufficio delle contradette in Cancelleria*) by means of Giuseppe Brignardelli, a Genovese, and Niccolo Gouz, his substitute, ministers of that office. . . . With face of bronze, Mascambruni said to their very face that they had falsified everything, exclaiming, "It is as true as God is true that this is not the hand of the Pope." Then he said, as though without premeditation, "It is necessary that the bull should not be issued." Taking with him in a coach Brignardelli, he went to the house of Don Diego Souza, and there he found the bull and took possession of it. He had during the drive persuaded Brignardelli to fly, and meantime, with the bull in his hand, jabbered against the guilty ones and swore he would go to the very bottom of this wickedness.'

The matter was then left in the hands of two of Mascambruni's friends, who endeavoured by such puerile contrivances to make a way of escape for their friend, that the Governor of Rome took the matter into his own hands. The wife of Brignardelli had incautiously revealed the fact that her husband had been bribed with 3,000 crowns by Mascambruni, and the threads of the conspiracy were so well drawn together in the course of the inquiry, that the guilt of the wretched culprit became 'clear as the sunlight.' He did not attempt to fly, but pleaded for mercy with the Pope, who only replied, 'Pray from the mercy of God for that pardon I can never grant.' He was soon after imprisoned in the prisons of the Tordinone, made terribly famous by the story of the Cenci.

'In the course of his interrogatories Mascambruni made the Ministers of the Treasury weary with the penetration of his replies. He slipped about under their hands like a fish. To the interrogations he replied, "Ask Donna Olimpia about it; ask Don Camillo—the Prince Giustiniani—carry me before the Pope, and you will find it out." He denied so stoutly everything that it was necessary to found the sentence upon the only thing that could be absolutely proved, which was the alteration of the registers of Urban VIII. from their proper character, a matter which was effected without bribery or corruption, or intention to injure anyone; which was already known to Innocent, who had urged him to expedite briefs for his absolution from the deed. On this account Buoncompagni and Pasqualoni, deputed by the Pope for the defence, and specially the former, did not find ground for condemning to death and confiscation of goods, but rather for some other penalty. In spite of this the judges concluded that the wretched man should be led through the principal streets, that his right hand should be cut off before the Palace of the Dateria, that then he should be strangled in the Campo di Fiori, or rather

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killed with the blow of a hammer, hung up by one foot, his body burned and the ashes thrown into the river.¹

This cruel sentence was modified by the Pope into that of beheading and the exposure of the body on the Place of the Bridge of S. Angelo.

‘It is certain that neither heretics condemned to abjure in the Church of Minerva or drawn forth for punishment, nor women hung for poisoning on the Campo di Fiori, nor monks walled up for carnal sins, nor men cut to pieces as homicides, occasioned so great an impression in Rome as did the punishment of Mascambruni.’¹

Yet the true culprits in this scandalous history were Donna Olimpia herself, who had employed Cardinal Gualtieri, her relative, as her agent for the sale of benefices²—who, if the prosecutors had dared to ask her, as Mascambruni significantly invited them to do, must have been found involved in his guilt. For her complicity has been proved by M. de Chantelauze (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Aug. 1877) on the testimony of Valençay, the French Ambassador. The secrecy of those who have inherited the archives of the Pamfili family—the Doria-Landi-Pamfili of our own day—tends fatally to deepen the dark cloud of suspicion which covers the memory of their ancestress. The *mostruoso potere d'una femmina in Vaticano*, as even Cardinal Pallavicini fears not to call the reign of Olimpia, is shown by Sismondi, an historian of unquestioned impartiality, to have secured for the Jesuits the condemnation of Jansenius and the assent of Innocent to their new doctrines of grace by which the whole teaching of the early Roman Church has been revolutionized.

Cardinal Vincenzo di Petra, the most authoritative of the commentators on the *Bullarium*, in view doubtless of the Mascambruni forgeries, gives us some criteria of the authenticity of papal bulls, in addition to the safeguards of Innocent III. against the earlier *falsarii*.³ But it will be easily seen that the new tests only involve these infallible documents in new obscurities, and require from all who receive them conditions which no private person can fulfil. ‘An original (i.e. authentic) bull,’ he writes, ‘ought to be in legal form written on parchment, according to the accustomed form, by experienced officials, with the cords and the leaden seal of S. Peter and S. Paul attached to it, and other requisites proving

¹ Ciampi, *Innocenzo X.* pp. 152–164.

² Bargrave (Camden Society), p. 103.

³ *Comment. ad Bullas in Bullario Romano contentas*, Proem. tom. i. p. 20 (ed. Venet. 1729).

the bull to be original.' But what if the cords are worn away? If the bull is an ancient one this does not signify, but in a modern one it would be fatal. Yet the decision he remits to a 'prudent judge.' Then comes the question whether the mere copy of a bull (which is indeed all that an ordinary layman can have) is to be regarded as sufficient evidence. This the Rota has decided in the negative. Still more perplexing is the case of bulls not found in the authorized editions of the *Bullarium*. Are these apocryphal? The decision upon these seems doubtful. Then arises the question of a transcript, which seems to have only been legalized by modern practice, the ancients requiring its registration in the *Regestum Bullarum*. Next we have a case which carries us back to the Mascambruni forgeries, where the bull and the petition (*supplicatio*) are in discord with each other. Here we are permitted to accept the bull as genuine until its spuriousness is proved. But the criterion is a very curious one when we remember the special methods of the great *falsarius*. For we are told that the signed supplication (the *matrix* of the bull, as the Cardinal terms it) is alone to be regarded, as the bull ought substantially to agree with it. A wonderful conclusion, which would have authenticated all the Mascambruni forgeries. Finally, a danger presents itself in the discrepancy between the bull and the register of the Dateria, and in the possible errors of transcription which may occur when copies are made from copies (*sumptum de sumpto*). Yet all these doubts and difficulties have to be cleared up before the legality of a bull, 'necum per viam legis universalis promulgatæ sed etiam pro re particulari,' can be established. We may well conclude from these conditions that the authenticity of a papal bull or brief is as doubtful to the most faithful devotee as its authority is to the most determined heretic.

Let us read in the searching, we had almost said scorching, light of this history the words of Cardinal Manning: 'All interpretations emanating from pontifical authority are certainly infallible. Of this class are the copious and luminous decisions of the Pontiffs S. Pius V., INNOCENT X., and Alexander VII., on the doctrines of grace.'¹ Well may we apply to this startling proposition the words of the learned Archbishop Kenrick, of S. Louis, in Missouri, on the speech of its author in the Vatican Council: 'Eum dum audirem, mihi in mentem venit, quod de Anglis in Hibernia considentibus olim dici consuevit: eos nempe ipsis Hibernis Hiber-

¹ *England and Christendom*, p. 176.

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niores esse. Reverendissimus Præsul est certe magis Catholicus quam quotquot hucusque Catholicorum noverim.¹ But we should betray the reader into the most intricate of the mazes of papal diplomacy were we to pursue this fruitful theme through the long and weary history of the Papacy. Our object is rather to indicate a path of inquiry to those who are becoming dazzled by the *ignis fatuus* of Infallibility, a path hitherto wholly neglected, though in some sense the most obvious and easy to the ordinary inquirer. Enough has been said to give good *primâ facie* evidence that the authorship and authenticity of a papal bull or brief are even more doubtful than their authority, and that both the one and the other are as indefinite and undefinable as the *charisma* which is assumed to inspire every papal utterance, as the *ex-cathedrâ* qualification which is made essential to its validity, and the indispensable conditions which are required to give legality to its publication. It is a sad and significant fact that the forged bulls of Mascambruni were never repudiated or withdrawn by the papal Court, the seventy which were found in his house bearing but a small proportion, as Ciampi indicates, to the 'innumerable ones' which were demoralizing Europe. It cannot but be admitted that this wholesale manufacture of papal 'graces' and dispensations in Rome itself only two centuries ago, and under the very eye of the Popes, takes away every security that was supposed to exist in modern times against the skill of the *falsarii*, and shows the perilous uncertainty of the most pretentious of the documents which are assumed to be the faithful transcripts of the papal mind. It is a pity that what De la Placette has well called the 'incurable scepticism of the Roman Church,' which has discredited even the inspired records of our faith, has not been extended to the bulls and briefs of the Popes where its application is most urgently needed. If they need a divine assistance in the preparation of these documents, we assuredly need almost a supernatural assistance to determine their authenticity, and to discover whether the whole of these Roman wares were not manufactured by skilled impostors like Mascambruni, or procured by undue influence under the reign of the Jesuits—a *mostruoso potere in Vaticano* too fatally resembling in its unscrupulous policy that of the Donna Olimpia Maldachini Pamfili, Principessa di San Martino.

With what a feeling of relief and of thankfulness must the member of our Church fall back upon the lines of its purer

¹ *Concio in Conc. Vat. habenda at non habita*, p. 40. (Neap. 1870.)

faith and higher morality, and realize the danger of weakening a single one of the barriers that separate us from the most perfect and elaborate system of fraud and corruption which has ever disgraced the name and violated the spirit of Christianity.

ART. V.—THE RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF
CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS.

1. *Reports of the Conference upon the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders held at Cambridge, 1881; Oxford, 1882; and King's College, London, 1884.* (Printed for private circulation.)
2. *Remarks on Cathedral Institutions*, by the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. (London, 1833.)
3. *The Cathedral: its Necessary Place in the Life and Work of the Church.* By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Truro. (London, 1878.)
4. *Works by John Febb, D.D.*, late Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardferit, and Aghadoe. (London, 1837, 1838.)
5. *Lectures on Pastoral Theology.* By the Ven. J. P. NORRIS, D.D., Archdeacon of Bristol. (London, 1884.)
6. *The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges.* (London, 1868.) *The Moral Groundwork of Clerical Training.* (London, 1873.) Sermons preached at the Cuddesdon Anniversary Festival. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., Canon of S. Paul's.
7. *The Spiritual Life in relation to Christian Activity.* Sermon preached in Salisbury Cathedral. By E. S. TALBOT, M.A., Warden of Keble College, Oxford. (Salisbury, 1881.)
8. *Charles de Condren: or, the Revival of Priestly Life in the Seventeenth Century in France.* By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. (London, 1877.)

AMONG the subjects discussed at the Conference on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders held last year at King's College, London, was 'The Relation of the Devotional Discipline of Ordinands to their Intellectual and Practical Training.' That this is 'the most important, as it is the most difficult, part of the training of candidates for holy orders,'¹ no

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 37, p. 98.

one who has had any lengthened experience in the work is likely to deny. It has certainly been felt to be so by those connected in various ways with the responsible task of training our future clergy, whenever the subject has been brought, either directly or indirectly, at different times before the Church Congress or before the Conferences of which the Reports head this article.¹ The proposed arrangements of examinations for ordination to the diaconate, combining a certain uniformity of subjects with the personal control of each Bishop over his own examination, which have already been described in this Review, will, in many ways, exercise an influence of a very beneficial kind over every department of clerical education. But those who are most anxious that this plan should be efficiently and thoroughly carried out would be the first to allow that no system of testing knowledge, however well organized, can in itself secure the power of its spiritual application to the heart and conscience of the priesthood, and through the priesthood to the Church at large. Hence we feel that no apology is needed for again inviting the attention of our readers to another aspect of the preparation for the sacred ministry, closely connected with but still distinct from the subjects of study and examination upon which so much care has been recently expended. And as the method and tone of that preparation depend very largely upon the formation of an earnest and intelligent public opinion throughout the Church,² we propose to consider the cultivation of the devotional habit, not, however, in an isolated position, but in its relation to that intellectual and practical training of which it is at once the inspiration and the crown.

A few words may be said at the outset upon the work already accomplished by the Church of England in regard to the education of her clergy, for of its extent and influence there is in many quarters very little idea. That this work is now more thoroughly organized than ever before, that new difficulties have become the occasion of new expedients, and the fall of established institutions the signal for fresh devotion and increasing liberality on the part of Churchmen is certain, but to forget the work of older labourers in the same field is not merely ungrateful but seriously damaging. There have seldom been periods when some, at least, of the leading clergy of the English Church have not been keenly alive to

¹ See Reports of Church Congress, 1872, pp. 298-323; 1873, pp. 127-160; Report of London Conference, 1884, pp. 15, 16.

² See Rosmini's *Five Wounds of the Church*, pp. 27-30.

the necessity of careful training for the ministry, although it is, no doubt, within the present century that this training has assumed a shape more definite, and, we may trust, increasingly devotional.

The work is in harmony with all our early traditions. An age which has witnessed the restoration of the Abbey of S. Augustine at Canterbury cannot forget that this, raised once more from its ruins to 'do the first works,' is the most ancient Missionary School in England. Not less famous was the Episcopal or Cathedral School of York, whose tradition of sacred learning was already long and distinguished when in the latter half of the eighth century Alcuin became a pupil there,¹ and Alcuin did but carry on an earlier influence which under Benedict Biscop and Baeda had spread from Wearmouth and Jarrow. The present Archbishop of Canterbury's work at Lincoln, and the essay subsequently written at Truro, have made thoughtful Churchmen familiar with the large influence exerted by the cathedral schools of the middle ages, schools 'ruled' by the Chancellor, and 'in which he, with his staff, lectured not to young students only, but to ripe masters.'² In Dr. Westcott's essays on 'Cathedral Work'³ and 'Cathedral Foundations in Relation to Religious Thought'⁴ a noble sketch is drawn of the function which the statutes of the new foundation were intended by their framers to fulfil. When Lord Bacon asked: 'Is there no mean to train and nurse up ministers? . . . to train them . . . to preach soundly, and to handle the Scriptures with wisdom and judgment,' his thoughts naturally reverted to cathedral foundations. 'For deans and canons, or prebends of cathedral churches, they were of great use in the Church,'⁵ and in the reign of James I. a college was projected, 'to be attached to the Collegiate Church and Minster of Ripon,'⁶ which, if the plan had been realized, might have been the means in later years of preventing the lapse of great towns, then mere villages, into schism and indifference.

And although this theory was not, except in one instance for a brief space, reduced to practice, it was not lost sight of.

¹ J. B. Mullinger's *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 51.

² *The Cathedral, &c.*, p. 25. See also the details given in regard to the Sarum Statutes, 1 Cath. Rep. pp. 366, 367.

³ *Macmillan's Magazine* for Jan. and Feb. 1870.

⁴ *Essays on Cathedrals*, edited by the Dean of Chester, pp. 109 sqq. See also Pusey's *Remarks, &c.*, pp. 85, 86, 99, 139-142.

⁵ The words form the motto on the title-page of Pusey's *Remarks, &c.*

⁶ *The Cathedral, &c.*, p. 127, n. Further information is given in Dr. C. Wordsworth's *Letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, 1837.

The efforts made in the Roman Communion on the Continent for the devotional as well as the intellectual training of the priesthood must, we should suppose, have been known to the most thoughtful of the English clergy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was through the influence of S. Charles Borromeo, who had been created a Cardinal in 1560, that in the final group of sessions of the Council of Trent (1562-1563) a decree was passed ordering the institution of a seminary in every cathedral, and of a divinity school in many.¹ On the lines indicated by this decree the Archbishop of Milan founded for his vast jurisdiction no less than six seminaries,² and in this work he did not stand alone. In Italy there was the Oratory founded in a large and comprehensive spirit by S. Philip Neri, in 1575. In France a very real reformation, from which much may be profitably learnt, was effected by the labour organized for the training of the clergy by De Condren, Cardinal de Bérulle, S. Vincent de Paul, and Jean Jacques Olier, the well-known founder of the Seminary of S. Sulpice.³ These efforts extended over the century in which constructive work, such as the Church of England might have undertaken, was thrown back by the internal controversies between the Catholic and Puritan elements within her pale; but when the settlement of 1662 removed the danger of disruption, it is not surprising to find that the example of the Churches of France and Italy had not been lost on such men as Thorndike, Prebendary of Westminster, who speaks of cathedral churches as designed to be 'schools of the prophets'; Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who laments that 'the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers'; and Robert Nelson, who in his *Life of Dr. George Bull*, gives a most admirable sketch of the work which might be accomplished by foundations 'entirely set apart for the forming of such as are candidates for holy orders.'⁴ Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, whatever may have been his personal failings, has at least the credit of recognizing in a very practical way the necessity of an adequate preparation

¹ Sess. XXIII. Cap. xviii.

² Of these many interesting details will be found in Giussano's *Life of S. Charles*, vol. i. pp. 105-115.

³ Sketches of all these are given in *Père de Condren, &c.*, by Mrs. Sidney Lear. See also *Vie de M. Olier, Fondateur du Séminaire de Saint Sulpice*, par M. Faillon, Prêtre de St. Sulpice, 3 vols. (Paris).

⁴ See Pusey's *Remarks, &c.*, pp. 87, 88; Nelson's *Life of Bull*, pp. 16-18. Thorndike, *The Primitive Government of Churches*: Works, vol. i. part i., *A.-C. Libr.* Gibson's *Codex*, vol. i. p. 203.

for the priesthood. 'He resolved,' his biographer tells us, 'at his own charge to maintain a small nursery of students in divinity at Salisbury, who might follow their studies, till he should be able to provide for them.' It appears that 'once every day' his ten students were admitted to him to give an account of their progress in learning, to propose to him such difficulties as they met with in the course of their reading, and to hear a lecture from him upon some speculative or practical point of divinity, or on some part of the pastoral function, which lasted above an hour,' and which, we must add, must have been heavy, as well as long, if the good Bishop, in order to make his young hearers 'fully the masters of all the notions of both sides,' used 'Turretin for the whole Calvinist hypothesis, and Limborch for the Arminian.'¹

If the Salisbury plan was the only attempt made to give practical expression to the necessity of definite training for the priesthood, an ideal higher than that which was generally realized was not entirely laid aside even through the Georgian era. The drab exterior at least of the *Clergyman's Instructor* will be familiar to the eye of some of our readers; if they will have the courage to look within, they will find that 'the Delegates of the Clarendon Press' had 'for some time' before 1807 adopted the plan of republishing treatises likely to be useful to the clergy, and have received in so doing 'no inconsiderable approbation, not only from ecclesiastical persons, but from serious and learned men of all orders.' In Richard Cecil's *Remarks on the Christian Ministry*, which Canon Pinder once told a friend 'he was reading for the sixtieth time,' we find a remark which is not inopportune even now: 'The leading defect in Christian ministers is want of a devotional habit.'²

To Bishop Jebb's influence and writings—too much neglected now—the Church of England, as well as the Church of Ireland, owes much. His admirable 'Ordination' and 'Visitation' sermons, and his excellent essay on *The Peculiar Character of the Church of England*, have guided many of the older clergy, still spared to us, through years of diligent, unobtrusive, and persevering work, based on definite principles such as might well be more largely imitated. His biographer, the devout and learned Rev. C. Forster, who was

¹ See *Life*, by T. Burnet, Esq., appended to the *History of his own Time*, and *Of the Pastoral Care*, p. 188. Previous to the foundation of Lampeter, there were some centres of theological instruction at Brecon and elsewhere in Wales.

² *Cecil's Works* edited by Josiah Pratt, B.D., vol. iv. p. 107.

'the Bishop's daily companion and own familiar friend,' tells us how it was his master's 'heartfelt conviction that in the examination for holy orders the best interests of the Church and of religion were at stake; that to guard the entrance to the sanctuary was the most effectual human security for the welfare of the Church of Christ.'¹ He seems to have been singular among the bishops of his day in printing 'cards of his courses for deacons' and for priests' orders; each course being made as wide and comprehensive as might seem compatible with a solid preparation on the part of the candidates.'² To him belongs the merit of introducing, while examining chaplain to Archbishop Brodrick of Cashel, an address to the assembled candidates, a practice which was continued, we are told, at Limerick. All these customs, together with the practice of meditation, which was evidently familiar to him,³ are the common property of the whole Church now, but in our use of them as improved by later workmanship we need not forget our earlier benefactors.

The establishment, therefore, of Theological Colleges, and the increasing efficiency of examinations for Holy Orders, which in the history of the Church of England during the nineteenth century will certainly form one of its most marked features, have been the outcome of long preparation. When Dr. Pusey published in 1833 those far-sighted *Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions*, anticipating so much that has since been carried into effect, the idea of any systematic training of non-graduates was evidently novel. He speaks of 'the institutions' of S. Bee's, founded in 1816 by Bishop Law, and S. David's (Lampeter), commenced in 1822 by Bishop Burgess, as 'expedients' though 'useful and necessary,' while, despite 'the improved theological spirit of the universities,' the preparation of graduates was evidently exceedingly slight.⁴ In the autumn, however, of the year which had witnessed the publication of Dr. Pusey's essay with its appendix, 'Century of English Cathedral Divines'—'framed through the zealous kindness of my accurate and indefatigable young friend and pupil, the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, student of Christ Church'—the University of Durham was founded by the Dean and Chapter, and Van Mildert, the last lord of the Palatinate, to whom

¹ *Life*, p. 179 (London, 1837).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 721, 722.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 303. A passage well worthy of attention on the subject of meditation, to which reference is made in *Bishop Jebb's Life*, will be found in Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*, part iv. ch. 7.

⁴ *Remarks, &c.*, pp. 56, 57.

the project was 'a matter of anxious and absorbing care,' became its first Visitor.¹ Provision was made for a course of theological as well as classical study, and there is a touching instance of the real interest taken by Bishop Van Mildert in some of the early students in the *Life* of one of the most distinguished, the learned and saintly James Skinner.²

Not, however, until 1840 were distinctness and reality given to the functions of a Diocesan Theological College by the foundation of Wells, a few months after Bishop Otter had called Charles Marriott to preside over the kindred institution established by him at Chichester. It is to the long Principalship of Mr. Pinder at Wells, extending over a period of twenty-five years, during which 600 names had been entered on the college books, that the Church of England owed, at a time when the experiment was certainly not promising, 'a practical proof of the possibility of improving the mode of preparation for holy orders,' through the realization of a design 'at first received with much distrust and misgiving.'³ The confidence felt in the character and fidelity of Mr. Pinder are strikingly shown in the Appendix to the first Cathedral Report of 1854, where, however dismal the predictions of evil attendant on the establishment of Theological Colleges uttered by Deans and Chapters, Divinity Professors, and Heads of Houses, no one can deny the excellent results of the experiment then being steadily tried at Wells. In 1846, S. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, began its work. The theological department of King's College, in which so many of our most distinguished teachers have laboured, was commenced in 1847. On June 15, 1854, Cuddesdon opened its doors. 'Threefold object of residence here,' writes its founder: '1. Devotion. 2. Parochial Work. 3. Theological Reading.'⁴ The circumstances of its dedication showed the advance in public feeling and Church principles. On August 3, 1840, 'a little company . . . the aged Bishop Law, his son Chancellor Law, Archdeacon Brymer, Canon Barnard, Mr. Pinder . . . and five students, the first-fruits of the coming harvest,' met for a first act of worship in 'the chapel belonging to the college of Vicars Choral,' at Wells. On the opening day, at Cuddesdon, fourteen years later, 'we were,' writes Bishop Wilberforce, '8 Bishops at the early com-

¹ Sermon by the Bishop of Durham at the Jubilee of the University, June 1882.

² *Life*, pp. 13-14.

³ Address from the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, presented to Canon Pinder in 1865.

⁴ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 245.

munion; 250 clergymen in surplices, and some out; 400*l.* collected.'¹ Lichfield followed in 1856. Salisbury, already suggested by the labours of Bishop Burnet, and again by Bishop Denison in 1841, was founded in 1861 by Bishop Hamilton. 'Upon no other part of his work,' writes his biographer and chaplain, 'was his interest directed with more eager intensity.'² The decade 1868-1878 witnessed the foundation of the Theological College at Gloucester; the Scholæ Cancellarii at Lincoln, exhibiting, in harmony with the ancient Canon Law,³ 'the first revival of the Cathedral Theological School as an integral and statutable portion of the Cathedral system,' under the quickening touch of Bishop Wordsworth and 'Chancellor Benson'; the Theological College at Ely, which, like Lincoln, owes so much to its Bishop and Visitor; the Clergy School of Leeds; and the Divinity School at Truro. In addition to these must be noticed—and that with respect for earnest, however narrow, convictions, and liberality suggestive of very real self-denial—the 'London College of Divinity' (S. John's Hall, Highbury), opened in September, 1863, 'for the education of clergymen in the Evangelical and Protestant principles of the Church of England,' which has, we are glad to observe, just received the addition of 'a beautiful and costly chapel,'⁴ consecrated by Bishop Jackson very shortly before his sudden death in the midst of devoted and loving work. With a similar design the two 'Theological Halls'—'Wycliffe' at Oxford, and 'Ridley' at Cambridge—have been erected in either University. In the Lent term of 1881 'a Society' was formed at Cambridge, under the direction of the present Regius Professor of Divinity, as President, with whom are associated, as Vice-President, a clergyman of long parochial experience, and, as lecturers, a strong band of younger fellows of different colleges, to meet 'a need felt by many graduates, who are looking forward to ordination, of a systematic preparation for their life's work which does not demand the sacrifice of the peculiar advantages afforded by residence in the university.' Nor may we forget two other 'Societies.' At Doncaster, the Temple, and Llandaff, some three hundred clergymen have prepared themselves, under Dean Vaughan's supervision, for the sacred ministry; and at Auckland Castle, as in the early ages of the Church, the Bishop's house has

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 246.

² *Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Sarum*, a sketch by Canon Liddon, p. 62.

³ Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium* quoted in *Essays on Cathedrals*, p. 42.

⁴ *Record*, Dec. 12, 1884.

become the seminary of his priests and deacons, with the result of strongest union between the chief pastor and his disciples, his sons in the faith.¹

The systematic training of clergy in England for the ever-widening needs of the Colonial and Missionary Church is conducted in a group of six institutions, all commenced within the century. From S. Augustine's College, Canterbury, founded by Royal Charter in 1848, nearly 380 men have already gone forth to be the pioneers of Christian civilization, carrying 'the unconquerable cross.'² The Church Missionary Society's College, at Islington, founded in 1824, is entirely supported by the munificence of the Society whose name it bears. At S. Stephen's Home, Oxford, opened in 1876, which will be a memorial of Canon King's tenure of the professorship of Pastoral Theology, a home has been offered for university men and others devoting themselves to missionary work, while large numbers of non-graduate students have been trained at Warminster, Dorchester, and Burgh—the last of these having been formed under Bishop Wordsworth's care as a college preparatory to the higher education of S. Augustine's.

To say nothing here of the organizations which supply, on a broader or narrower basis, pecuniary aid to candidates for holy orders,³ this historical sketch of the growth of special clerical training shows, with force more striking than many words would do, the influence which it must of necessity exert upon the whole Anglo-Catholic communion, and that influence will, we are convinced, be for good exactly in pro-

¹ On the advantages of such training, see Rosmini's words, *Five Wounds, &c.*, pp. 32–37. Auckland suggests Scotland, and reminds us of the singularly complete training given in the Edinburgh Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, founded in 1810, and of the welcome given to not a few English graduates in the College at Cumbræ, attached to the Cathedral of the Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, founded in 1849.

² *The Evidential Value of the Continuity of Missionary Enterprise*, a sermon by Dr. Maclear, p. 16.

³ There are diocesan organizations for this purpose in Canterbury, Bangor, Carlisle, Exeter, Llandaff, St. Albans, and through 'the Bishop of Bedford's Fund' in the diocese of London. (*Official Year Book of the Church of England*, 1885.) Other organizations are: Tancred's Charities (1721), the Cholmondeley Trust, the Ordination Candidates' Exhibition Fund (1873), the Cambridge Clerical Education Society (1838), and, limited to persons of 'Evangelical' views, the Elland Clerical Society (1777), the Bristol Clerical Education Society (1795), and the London Clerical Society (1876). The S. Augustine's Missionary Studentship Associations number twenty-seven. See *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1885, p. 124.

portion as each of the institutions whose foundation has been described, by working with and for the whole Church, under the guidance of the Episcopate, catches the discipline which controls and the energy which quickens the Body of Christ. Churchmen even now are far from understanding the real importance of the fact that some two hundred Oxford and Cambridge graduates, and at least four hundred non-graduates, are under training in the colleges and other institutions which have been mentioned; while Durham would contribute a considerable number of Licentiates in Theology, and the students of the six missionary institutions approach a total of 150. There are, probably, not more than about 160 graduates of the two ancient universities, with a small contingent from Dublin and Durham, who are without some special and definite training.

The statistics of ordinations during 1884, point unmistakably to the conclusion that, while giving no grudging welcome to clergy educated elsewhere, the Church still looks to Oxford and Cambridge as the main sources whence the ministry shall be recruited. Out of 1,514 candidates for the priesthood and diaconate, no less than 903 were Oxford or Cambridge men, and a clearer view of the service which the universities can render in regard to preparation for the ministry would conduce very materially to the religious training of this the largest and most important section of our ordinands. In the suggestive volume of sermons and essays entitled *The Religious Office of the Universities*, Dr. Westcott has pointed out that, besides giving the theological student the teaching 'which places him in a true position for future work,'

'They not only reveal to him the general relations in which his science stands to the other sciences, but they enable him to lay deeply and surely the foundation on which all later construction may repose. They enable him . . . to seize the characteristics of the Christian revelation by directing him to the study of Holy Scripture and to the study of Church history.'

'More than this,' as he points out elsewhere, 'they cannot do with the time and means at their disposal,' at any rate, in their corporate capacity, whatever may be the results of private efforts in their midst. But there is a further yet more important need which they are not likely to supply, and we cannot do better than describe it in words spoken some two years since at the Ely Theological College by Canon Carter:—

'Without the clergy becoming a caste, or breaking the links which knit them to the laity, or to their fellow-men in various grades of life, there is needed, for those who would be Christ's true representatives, that which demands for its growth and formation a retirement different from the old undergraduate associations, distinctive teaching, special training, a mind, and a "character." The priest needs this distinctive character no less than men of other professions. And this can only be won by prayer and study, and by personal influence.'

Thus we are brought face to face with the twofold aspect of the special religious training of our graduate candidates for holy orders: (1) a pastoral training in which they may become acquainted with practical methods of study and teaching, and learn to minister to the wants of individual men; (2) devotional discipline in relation to the intellectual and practical sides of the pastoral training, the student being supposed to have gained previously some clear idea of the relation in which theology, as a science, stands to other branches of knowledge, and of the methods in which it should be studied.

In order, then, to realize this ideal, which concerns the formation of 'character' far more intimately than is often supposed, it is surely essential that steps should be taken, without interference with the ordinary course of study, to guide spiritually, intellectually, and practically those who enter the universities with the intention of becoming candidates for holy orders, especially such as take either very low 'Honours' or only the ordinary degrees for which an 'education' of the slightest kind is required. The subject formed the matter of a resolution at the Oxford Conference of 1882, and we cannot but think that some systematic plan might be arranged by the concurrent action of the Episcopate and the Divinity Professors. For candidates who receive no special training after taking their degrees some such guidance is an absolute necessity, but it is almost equally necessary for those who do. As things at present are, the whole weight of preparation is, in almost every case, thrown on the theological institution which ought only to supplement the university course. A multiplicity of subjects, none of which can be safely omitted, distracts the attention of the student—who has, in all probability, never gained the faculty of concentration of thought either at school or college—in a hurried preparation for the Episcopal examination, and time which might be devoted to higher aspects of the work is necessarily curtailed. More is, no doubt, being done in this direction than is generally known, but the efforts are partial and

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private, whereas they should be general and under the direction of the Theological Faculty as a body. More still might be done if parents or schoolmasters would, at his matriculation, place an undergraduate, who hopes eventually to be ordained, in definite communication with some one engaged in theological teaching at the university. For want of a little care, not a few who need and would value help the most pass through their university course without knowing how to obtain it. Thus, *e.g.*, at Cambridge, undergraduates 'may, with the sanction of the authorities of their college, be accepted as Associates' of the Clergy Training School. Here they may receive direction, not only in study, while practical work will be arranged and regulated, but help in devotion will be offered, together with admission to regular services, as 'a means of strengthening a devotional habit of life, and of uniting more closely those who have the same high office in view.'¹ If, however, a step so definite be impossible, membership with the 'Cambridge University Church Society'—the only conditions of union with which are 'to be a member of the university and a regular communicant in the Church of England'—or with the long-established 'Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity,'² would bring the undergraduate at once into communication with many well qualified to sympathize and advise. At Oxford there are many similar opportunities: the private lectures—which we feel sure will be continued—of the Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; S. Stephen's House; and the Pusey Library, with its services and instructions of many kinds. In particular colleges, we are informed that 'some efforts are made to learn men's intentions early in their course,' and thus 'to know and advise them.' But we still venture to think that something of a more authoritative kind is needed. A threefold suggestion has been made:—(1) the registration of candidates for orders about one year before they go down; (2) attendance at different courses of lectures under the direction of the professors; (3) some test—if, indeed, help can be found for carrying it out—of study in connexion with the lectures, either by careful analysis, which, we think, would be the better mode, or by papers. We feel sure that if, in these and similar ways, undergraduates could be directed, time now frittered away with the result of serious injury alike to character and fixed habits of devotion, as well as study, might be usefully employed; and, at Cambridge, the

¹ From a circular entitled *Preparation for Holy Orders in Cambridge*.

² There is a branch of this at Oxford also.

'Special Theological Examination,' to the present unsatisfactory condition of which we have already drawn attention, might become effective, if it were felt that it constituted a definite part of the intellectual preparation for the diaconate. For the comparatively few men looking forward to ordination who take high honours, the registration excepted, some other arrangement would be needed. But scholarships and fellowships enable such men not only to read for the Honour School of Theology, after their degree in other subjects, but even to supplement this by a period of residence for pastoral training in a Theological College which, if relieved of the burthen of elementary instruction through the plans we have suggested, would then be able to help its abler as well as more backward students far more effectually than is possible now.

It is certainly desirable that as the special preparation of graduates for their ordination becomes general it shall not be everywhere marked by the same features. In the education of the clergy, as in other forms of work, it is well to recollect that all characters are not cast in one mould, and that, within limits, methods may be distinct while the end is the same. Dr. Pusey, in the valuable letter addressed by him to the first Cathedral Commission on August 8, 1853, expresses an opinion in favour of Oxford and Cambridge continuing to be the places of education for the more learned clergy. We speak alike from experience and observation when we say that a devout and intelligent graduate, using the many aids to devotion which are now to be readily found both at Oxford and Cambridge, can, while in residence at the university, prepare himself very thoroughly for his ordination. We believe, too, that the presence of graduates, whose ability is attested by distinction gained in the Honour School, spending the months immediately preceding their ordination in their colleges, and living by a simple rule, especially if they cultivate friendly relations with younger men, is likely to be of the highest advantage, not only to themselves, but to the university at large. In the case of the majority, however, the special preparation will best be conducted elsewhere, and, with the Bishop of Lichfield, we 'heartily desire and hope that (in one form or another) it may some day be made necessary for all.'¹ Some, no doubt, need 'to be roused to spiritual reality and quickened with the fire of charity by the sight of human life in its crowded masses with their bitter miseries

¹ *Lichfield Diocesan Magazine*, January 1885, p. 7.

and their rampant sins,' and for such as these provision has been made. But 'for others'—and they constitute the larger number—it is better that for a time they should be saved from the distraction of outward things and allowed to centre themselves upon the Truth, and upon its relation to them and to their brethren.¹ That concentration is, we believe, far more easily and healthily attained in the Cathedral School of Theology, 'the natural complement of the Theological School of the University,'² than anywhere else, and, as the growing needs of the Church are not unlikely to call into existence additional colleges for the training of the clergy, we venture to express a decided opinion that only in diocesan centres should any new institutions be established in definite relation to the Bishop, and with reasonable prospects of adequate endowment. If special training of the clergy is gradually to become the rule and not the exception, to be imposed by the force of educated opinion, as well as by the instinct of personal self-devotion, it must, to command the confidence of the whole Church, be conducted as a public function under the supervision of the Episcopate, aided by the Bishop's proper advisers, the Chapter of the Cathedral Church.

And if training under the shadow of the Bishop's Palace and the Cathedral be most desirable for those who, in many cases, will have been moulded by the traditions not only of the universities but of the home and public school, we are quoting words weighty in themselves, but now weightier than when first uttered, in expressing a belief that for non-graduates

'the re-creation of the Cathedral Schools of Divinity seems to be, we will not say the best, but the only means of organizing a proper training in knowledge, and in tone and character, for those aspirants to the office who are certain to spring up in numbers, and whose services are on all sides demanded. The question is not, "Will we create a new class of clergy?" but, Will we cultivate by mutual association, will we ennoble by familiarizing with our oldest, grandest, most beautiful seats of religion, will we train in letters, will we exercise in theology, will we form, enlighten, purify, deepen, widen, exalt by penetrating study of the Apostles, the Prophets, the Psalmists, the Words and Acts of the Son of God, those men who will form an inevitable, large, and a most influential class of clergy whether we will or no? What is our choice? If we will not form them in the great way, they will form themselves in their little way.'³

¹ Mr. Talbot, *The Spiritual Life in Relation to Christian Activity*.

² Dr. Westcott, *Essays on Cathedrals*, p. 119.

³ Paper on 'Increase of Ministerial Agencies,' by Rev. Chancellor Benson, *Report of Lincoln Diocesan Conference*, 1876, pp. 44, 45. See

For such men the Cathedral, besides insuring the presence of instructors whose age, experience, and learning would command the confidence and sympathies of the students, gives men, to whom tradition is almost an unknown idea, a representation of Church authority without which religious training is at once incomplete and weak. The order and regularity of its services, everywhere becoming more reverent and stately, add stability to the spiritual life, while historical association and the corporate work of the whole foundation lead many a narrow-minded youth to learn something of the true dignity of becoming a Priest in the *Church of God*. It is in the interest of the religious as well as the merely intellectual preparation of all our candidates that we desire to emphasize the 'very grave regret' expressed in a previous article that the Cathedral Commissioners have not boldly recognized the work of existing colleges, and to add a hope that in any legislation which may be the outcome of their labours, this defect in their Reports will be promptly remedied.¹ The place of training has an effect of the strongest character upon the highest and most important aspects of theological education.

Wherever conducted, training must be devotional, intellectual, practical, and the epithet 'religious' cannot rightly be restricted to any one of these. In no case is it merely instruction. If it be really understood, it is the development of supernatural graces, due to union with the Second Adam, by which each faculty of nature, spiritual, mental, bodily, will become prepared to receive and to use the gifts super-added to the power of Order in the case of all who are morally qualified for receiving them.

In several of the little books dealing with the ordained life which appear from time to time in the form of addresses and lectures, many of our readers must have observed a striking omission. Admirable and true words are written on 'the equipment.' Excellent advice is given on 'dangers and difficulties.'² Our work and life as 'Prophets, Priests, and Pastors' are forcibly portrayed.³ But although *vocation* is

also Dr. Pusey's letter, 1st *Cath. Report*, pp. 793, 794. In *The Cathedral, its Necessary Place, &c.*, p. 109, a distinction is drawn between *Scholæ Theologicæ* and *Seminaria*; the former *ad integræ civitatis clerum destinantur*; the latter *ad unius diocesis tantum clericalem juventutem*.

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 37, p. 93. Some valuable remarks on the subject will be found in a paper read by the present Bishop of Chester in the *Report of the Leeds Church Congress*, 1872, p. 304.

² *Pastoral Work*, by the Bishop of Bedford.

³ *Lectures on Pastoral Theology*, by the Archdeacon of Bristol.

implied, it is seldom insisted upon as a condition apart from which all preparation is in vain.¹ It is certainly not thus taken for granted in Holy Scripture, as readers of Dean Church's sermon on 'The Call of God'² will remember. It is not so in the English Ordinal, in which every effort has been made, in a form almost peculiar to itself, to emphasize it as the first and most essential of all requirements.³ The defect which has been noticed becomes the more marked when our forgetfulness of the call is contrasted with the influence it exercised over the lives of some of the noblest among the clergy of the Church of France. 'According to his own account,' we are told of Charles de Condren, whose work during the sixteenth century as Superior of the Oratory of France was so far-reaching, 'a clear voice resounded within him, even as a boy, "I will that thou be a priest to serve Me and My Church."' 'Admit none to holy orders,' said S. Vincent de Paul, the founder of the Lazarists, 'save such as have the required knowledge, and give token of a real vocation.' The marvellous work of Jean Baptiste de la Salle, who originated the splendid educational organization of the 'Christian Brothers' would never have been accomplished if his vocation to the ecclesiastical life had not appeared very early, and been fostered by the religious habits of the family. And in our own day, among the loftier spirits in the ranks of the French clergy, vocation is as prominent a thought. 'Ever since I was a child,' writes Henri Perreyve, the Oratorian, 'the thought of being a priest has been in my heart; not at all times equally prominent, but never absent.' The desire to receive the priestly commission in order to minister to men was to him 'that joy of joys, that sole object of his life.' And Lacordaire, when once he felt himself called, resolved to become a student for the priesthood '*jusqu'au cou*,' imagining 'nothing comparable to the happiness of ministering to the world, under the Eye of God, with the help of the Cross and the Gospel of Christ.'⁴

It is in the reality of the vocation that largest strength is assured for future work. The mingled sense of unworthiness and responsibility evoked by it has for its correlative that

¹ Bishop Wilberforce's well-known *Ordination Addresses*, and Dr. Westcott's *Some Thoughts on the Ordinal* must be excepted.

² Printed in *Human Life and its Conditions*, pp. 172-194.

³ Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 303.

⁴ 'Père de Condren, &c.,' pp. 9, 303 (*Christian Biographies*, by Mrs. H. L. Sidney Lear); 'The Christian Brothers,' p. 14, by Mrs. R. F. Wilson; 'Henri Perreyve,' pp. 29, 79; 'Lacordaire,' pp. 34, 37 (*Christian Biographies*, &c.)

revelation of dependence and support from on high which, more than anything else, will make the ordained life a progress, harmonious, steady, sure, 'from strength to strength.' As Professor Mozley has pointed out in a very noble passage, rising, for the moment, almost to enthusiasm—

'A man is never so vigorous, so decided, so unchangeably resolute and determined, so inaccessible to every effort to divert him, and so elevated above every obstacle and barrier in his way . . . as when he declares that he himself does nothing and wills nothing, but is only following and receiving an unseen motion from without.'¹

In the selection of candidates we feel that proof of a real vocation, however inchoate, is absolutely essential. When, as so often, the clergy are asked for an opinion in any special case, they should remember that the truest signs of vocation do not consist in vague desires to be useful, or even in the undisciplined enthusiasm which, before all things, is anxious to preach in connexion with an 'Army,' but rather in a growing sense, manifested in daily conduct, of a higher Presence, a desire, modest and humble, to make the Divine Glory the ruling principle, simple obedience and reverence, and willingness to submit to a diligent and self-denying preparation. It is, we fear, to the absence of early vocation that the strange indifference to the claims of the priesthood must be attributed through which, even in middle life, men, apparently without any adequate reason, are seen to relinquish, when circumstances permit, distinct clerical work of all kinds. When it is really present, we speak from experience in saying that the grace which it calls into conscious activity will refine men of every class, of humblest as of highest birth.

'When we say, "we must have gentlemen for our clergy," that is indeed a truth. But we must include in the term all those who, in whatsoever station born, have the finer susceptibilities and delicate sympathies, and mental fibre which take the breeding and the culture of God's chosen priest by grace and nature too.'²

Vocation, and that only, is a certain pledge of the presence of such gifts. To recommend well-disposed young men to be ordained who are without some really manifest tokens of possessing it is a very hazardous proceeding, and especially so in those cases where, if ordination is refused, there is nothing else to fall back upon. Principals of colleges in which non-graduates are trained ought not, through recommendations incautiously given to applicants for admission, to

¹ *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 228.

² Chancellor Benson, Paper at Lincoln Diocesan Conference, 1876.

be reduced at the close of a student's course, in which no evidence of a real vocation has become apparent, to the alternative of granting testimonials to men whose fitness for their office is open to the gravest question, or, by refusing them, of inflicting the penalty of financial ruin.¹

Whatever the form which the preparation of those who are truly called may assume, we suppose that by this time few who have thought with any seriousness upon the question would deny that some period of retirement previous to ordination is not only needful for the due discharge of the ministry, but in accord with the finest instincts of our nature.

And if for these things 'the life of a Theological College holds out to many men an opportunity of inestimable value,' it is of the utmost necessity that the teachers and students of those institutions should be encouraged far more than is at present the case by the prayers and sympathy of the Church 'to recognize the principle that spiritual and theological wisdom must have a basis in conduct, in life, and conscience,' and to make the keynote of the whole inner fabric, 'Nevertheless I live: yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'² 'If you can arouse the hidden life in our priests,' M. Olier, the saintly and truly evangelical founder of Saint Sulpice, used to say, 'we shall do,'³ and, we are told, he continually quoted S. Ambrose: 'Omnia Christus est nobis, signaculum in fronte, ut semper confiteamur; signaculum in corde, ut semper diligamus; signaculum in brachio, ut semper operemur.'⁴

The subject of Devotional Training has directly or indirectly been considered at each of the three Conferences upon the Education of the Clergy, and in a Report largely though privately circulated in 1882 much valuable information was collected from various sources on methods found useful in conducting it. All were agreed that the 'devotional habit,' the want of which 'in Christian Ministers' Richard Cecil so deeply regretted,⁵ should be 'methodically cultivated,' and that 'such culture should be encouraged as a substantive

¹ S. Charles Borromeo, from whose work in clerical education at Milan a good deal may be learned, used to employ the Rural Deans of the diocese in the selection of candidates, while he found time to see all new-comers to the seminaries previous to admission. Some safeguards of this kind are not seldom needed among ourselves.

² *The Moral Groundwork of Clerical Training*, pp. 18, 19. Gal. ii. 20 was actually chosen as the motto for S. Sulpice: 'Père de Condren, &c.,' p. 295.

³ 'Père de Condren, &c.,' p. 296.

⁴ S. Ambrose, *De Isaac et Anima*, viii. 75.

⁵ *Works*, vol. iv. p. 107.

part of the preparation for holding and exercising the ministerial office,'¹ but there was a natural difference of opinion as to systems, especially in regard to formal 'Meditation' and Retreats. To discuss these subjects would exceed the limits of this article, but we venture to think that objections urged against their adoption in Theological Colleges would be greatly diminished if it were more thoroughly understood—as is really the case—that the corporate life of a well-organized society is not intended to be adopted, then and there, in every detail by each member, but, with God's grace, to offer an ideal towards which the first steps may be taken during the period of quiet preparation for *ordination*.

There is sometimes too great a tendency to expect from residence at a Theological College more than is possible. Again and again has such residence given new insight, deep contrition, godly fear, and fresh hope: but to suppose that in a year or two the results of old idleness or neglect can be entirely obliterated, and habits of devotion, often presupposing long years of anxious study and reverent service in the sanctuary of God, can become permanently fixed, is very seriously misleading. But as it is as certainly true, to quote words of Sailer, Bishop of Ratisbon (1829-1832), in his admirable treatise on 'Pastoral Theology,' 'No great work is done without a high ideal,'² 'a Theological College cannot afford to regulate its standard by the needs of those who are wanting in its fundamental requirements.' In the presence of an ideal embodying principles of devotion expressed in the Prayer Book, cherished by growing traditions, which students who have experienced their value hand on to their successors to maintain, not a few now ordained have laid the foundations of lives of devoted service to God and His Church which, humanly speaking, could never have been begun save for the formative influences exercised upon character by a Theological College.

It is in the recommendation of an ideal by example, as well as by precept and appeal to tradition, that the key to difficulties in regard to devotional training will be found. 'It is what they see,' said S. Vincent de Paul, speaking of candidates for ordination, to his colleagues in the Seminary, 'that will help their souls.'³ In recommending any one

¹ London Report, p. 16.

² Some translations into French of Sailer's work, which is well worthy of attention, may be obtained from Lecoffre et Cie., Paris. See further Archdeacon Norris's *Lectures on Pastoral Theology*, p. 12, Canon Liddon's *The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges*, p. 21.

³ 'Pere de Condren, &c.,' p. 241.

practice of devotion it is, indeed, most essential not to anticipate the growth of faith and reverence. This is a warning which, we are convinced, is required in regard to frequency of Communion, Meditation, and, where it is needed, Confession. A reaction, after ordination, and much spiritual distress are not unlikely to be the results of action so precipitate, but if the men who go forth from our Theological Colleges are, as instruments in God's hands, to conquer prayerless habits among their people, if they are so to prepare candidates for confirmation as to influence them permanently, if 'practical work' is not, as too often, to sink into a round of mechanical routine, no discouragement must be cast on any true effort to make the atmosphere and system of all our colleges instinct with a spirit of real devotion, which neither teachers nor students should shrink from openly recognizing. In His own 'institution of a Christian ministry,' as Professor Maurice once called the Gospels, our Lord has distinctly marked out the true order of training as of the subsequent life; 'He ordained twelve that (1) they should be with Him, and that (2) He might send them forth to preach.'¹

In devotion, then, so ordered as to bear upon the life, the basis of other parts of religious training must be laid. In the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. iv. 14, 15) S. Paul lays down this rule. If 'the truth of Christ is not a mere statement of truth which we discern, but a habit of intellectual union with Christ the Head, of which we are made partakers in His Body,'² no student can without the faculty of supernatural knowledge fed by the Holy Eucharist, prayer public and private, and a devotional use of the Bible, really grasp theology. The present state of religion in Protestant Germany, due to the teaching of Scripture and doctrine by lay professors, bound by no Creed, is a solemn warning to ourselves.³ Only in unbroken union with the mediatorial mind of Christ can the things of God be really known (1 Cor. ii. 12-16), and we feel that it is a matter of essential importance that these loftier aspects of study should not be overborne by too severe a pressure of lectures, examinations, and exercises in homiletics, often extremely trying at first, especially in colleges devoted to the instruction of non-graduates. For this among other cogent reasons, the general adoption of a Three Years' Course for such students, which would be quite practicable if an adequate sustentation fund were pro-

¹ S. Mark iii. 14. Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 148.

² Rev. R. M. Benson, *Spiritual Readings* (Christmas), p. 147.

³ See, e.g., Dr. Rudolph Stier in his *Reden Jesu*, vol. i. preface (E.T.).

vided by endowment, or by subscription, is so highly desirable, while a course thus prolonged would enable instruction to be given in a few other subjects besides theology to the great benefit alike of the teacher and the taught. Too often, we have reason to fear, especially among men hitherto untrained in habits of study, the all-absorbing object, which even thrusts devotion aside, is to pass the examinations by the help of small 'manuals' and inaccurate 'compendiums,' while means of grace, such as would really strengthen the mental faculties, are neglected for months together, irreverence, which is never wholly effaced, is unconsciously, but none the less actually fostered, and God is, after all, not truly known because He is not really loved. It is, emphatically, education rather than mere instruction which is required, if ever religious learning is to become, as it assuredly ought to be, the characteristic in some measure of all the Church's ministers.

The recognition of this deep and vital connexion between the means of grace and the culture of divine truth, so far from superseding the necessity of study on the supposition of receiving enlightenment without it, only increases the obligation through the reception of the gift of power to undertake it. If the intellectual faculties remain wilfully unexercised, grace will, as in other spheres of its operations, be withdrawn. Step by step with the culture of the devotional character, the formation of habits of real study should be as diligently and earnestly tended in every centre of training, and, so far as limited time and too often a very inadequate staff of teachers allow, the intellectual benefits conferred on candidates for holy orders through Theological Colleges should be on a level with the moral and spiritual. God is the source of intellectual as of all other forms of light, and in the lecture-room His presence should be invoked and realized as the Primate has taught theological students to do in the *Practical Hints on Reading and some Prayings*, better known as *Vigilemus et Oremus*.¹ We cannot allow, for one instant, that a devotional training, however complete, can in reality form an excuse, as it often does, for neglect, still less for depreciation, of study.

'The truth is,' Dr. Liddon has most wisely said, 'that Religion and Theology are inseparable. We are bound to God in the secret recesses of our spiritual being by the truths about God of which we are certain. If no such truths exist, then there is no possible basis for any such thing as religion at all. If such truths do exist, then it is of vital importance to the strength and earnestness of religion,

¹ See p. 13, and Lord Bacon's 'Scholar's Prayer,' p. 32.

that they should be exactly ascertained and stated. Therefore, proportioned to the strength of the religious tie must be the intellectual anxiety respecting the facts which warrant it. What are these facts? Upon what do they rest? Where is their real frontier? What do they exclude and contradict? What do they imply, and sanction, and necessitate? These questions are not the cumbrous weapons of a stupid scholasticism, which would fain imprison a heavenly poetry within the bars and bands of its graceless syllogisms; they are the irrepressible voice of the human spirit, face to face with the awful, the absorbing problem of its destiny, and refusing to be satisfied with sentiments when it craves for truths.¹

These words, written now seventeen years ago, are even more true at this time. Nothing is so much needed among the younger clergy and candidates for holy orders as simple but thorough teaching, suggesting lines of personal study, in regard to the ground of belief in the fundamental articles of the faith and the practical value of Creeds and the authority of the Church. Apart from such studies, to which it is really necessary to add that every priest is solemnly pledged in ordination, a devotional training may produce emotion merely, without any fixed, solid principles of belief and conduct, than which there is no soil in which heresy is more luxuriantly developed, or weaknesses of character, wholly unsuspected except by those who have had practical experience in these matters, more likely to show themselves.²

Despite many a warning, the conscience of the Church is far from being as yet fully awakened to the practical importance of a devout and intelligent appreciation of the faith among the clergy, and unless the duty of study, as distinct from merely reading for an examination, is more firmly imprinted on our ordinands during the period of training, and in the Ember-week addresses previous to the ordination itself, the culture of the intellect and of the supernatural grace bestowed in ordination for the purpose of attaining higher knowledge, are not likely to be pursued afterwards. The condition of France is, perhaps, the strongest warning of all. The 'Oratory of France' was re-formed at the Presbytère de Saint Roch, in Paris, in August 1852, after its long dispersion caused by the Great Revolution. It commanded the services of such men as Père A. Gratry, Henri Perreyve, Charles Perraud, and his brother, the present Bishop of

¹ *The Work and Prospects of Theological Colleges*, pp. 9, 10.

² We cannot forbear drawing attention here to the admirable preface by the present Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford (the Rev. Canon F. Paget) prefixed to a most useful book by 'C.C.G.' entitled *Outlines of Church Teaching*.

Autun. In its work, regulated by study while it was based on devotion at once intelligent and fervid, the French Church had a splendid instrument of religious influence, and had its spirit been really encouraged there can be no question that the position of the faith in France would have been very different to its present condition. To institute an exact comparison between England and France is not, indeed, possible, but this at least may be said, that the present failure of the Church of France—unimpeded, it should be remembered, to any large extent by the presence of schismatical bodies—to command the allegiance of the great mass of the men of the country, shows that impressive ceremonial, emotionalism, and even very genuine philanthropy, will not atone for the neglect of that intelligent preaching and careful direction in classes, pastoral visitation, and organization which are the outcome of devout study. The obligation is more imperative in England than elsewhere. From the force of circumstances, the English clergy must, with few exceptions, be pastors and prophets as well as priests. Of this we have no reason to complain. In ancient times, as the stress laid upon the Prophetic Office in, *e.g.*, the writings of S. Ambrose,¹ or in S. Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, remains to show, not the Liturgy only, but preaching and the Liturgy were the two great schools of Christian people, and how obligations thus imposed upon the clergy can be met without constant study, as necessary for the sake of the poor as of the rich, it is indeed difficult to understand. 'We are,' said Bishop Chr. Wordsworth, as at the Lambeth Conference of 1878 he directed the attention of the assembled Episcopate to the state of irreligion in which France and Germany alike are plunged, 'in danger of declining from that high position which the clergy of the Church of England have held for three centuries.'

'Let our working clergy,' the Primate has written, 'pass a quarter of a century more in their present relations to the "educated class," and then' (quoting one of William Alnwick's warnings) "'pretiosa nostra vilescent.'" As a caste they would necessarily still subsist; perhaps even invested for the devouter minds with some added touches of quasi-religious awe; always received with the regard loyally rendered to diligence and benevolence. But even now an ominous kindly silence too frequently closes a discussion begun in the presence of a clergyman. His character commands regard; he has credit for sincerely believing what his friends might equally accept if the living speech of the teacher defended or even clearly stated his

¹ *e.g.* *De Off.* i. 1.

truth. But that habitual gentle silence, if it is not broken soon, means night or storm.'

A Bishop of wide and varied parochial experience adds a similar warning :—

'Without study we shall not only fail to bring to our people all the blessings which God intends for them, but we shall gradually become more feeble and perfunctory in our ministrations. Our life may apparently be a busy one, and our time incessantly occupied, but our work will be comparatively fruitless : we shall be fighting as one that beateeth the air.'

'It is,' the Bishop of Lichfield had said in his Primary Charge of 1880, 'impossible that such a state of things can exist without serious injury to the welfare of our Church.'

There is danger, indeed, if the present neglect continues, of losing hold not of the more educated men only, but of another class. The experiences of 'George Eliot' in matters of religion are, we may be sure, to a large extent typical of the lives of smaller individuals in contemporary society, and we desire to invite attention to the following sentences, which occur in some observations upon her biography, by one whose attainments and position will to those who recognize the signature 'E' justify what is said :—

'The present century has been marked in a signal degree by the advances made in women's education. Unless the Church and the clergy keep pace with this we shall soon have to lament that religion has lost its hold on a most important class, which has hitherto in this country been one of the strongholds of faith, while this class will, on its side, have lost all the hallowing, endearing, and ever-refining influences which "show us how divine a thing a woman may be made."' ¹

Now, in order to enable candidates for ordination to recognize theoretically what to the more thoughtful will in a very few years become a matter of experience, that study is a religious work, Theological Colleges do not, as was suggested in a criticism by the *Church Times* ² on our former article, need so much change of subjects, which will certainly and rightly

¹ See on the whole question Bishop Chr. Wordsworth's *Miscellanies*, vol. iii. pp. 74-82 ; *The Cathedral, &c.*, pp. 120-124 ; the *Lichfield Diocesan Magazine*, Sept. 1884, pp. 135, 136 ; and the Bishop of Lichfield's *Primary Charge*, pp. 34, 35. We may refer also to Dr. Westcott's *Religious Office of the Universities*, pp. 79-114.

² 'The Watershed in George Eliot's Life,' *Guardian*, March 4, 1885. In a thoughtful letter addressed to the same journal, June 3, 1885, 'M.A., M.D.' observes in regard to the teaching of religious knowledge, 'As far as my experience goes there is appalling ignorance of Christianity in its intellectual, historical, and apologetic sides.'

³ October 1884. 'Theological Colleges being unendowed, and de-

continue, quite apart from pecuniary considerations, to be, with some additions, those required in the episcopal examination, but certain alterations in methods of teaching. With a far higher sense of the supernatural gifts required for embracing the faith, through sacramental union with Him who is the Fount of Life and Light, with a profound conviction that it is in 'the Breaking of Bread' that the eye of the soul will be opened to know the Lord, those who teach and those who examine must strive persistently to bring study into vital connexion with the sacred functions, the personal life, and the practical activity of our future clergy, and to show how poor and feeble all ministries will become without it. It is because so little has been really accomplished in this direction that, as a natural consequence, men are impatient to give up pursuits which do not appear to them to have any necessary links with their pastoral charge. But with the cessation of the discipline of devout study character becomes enfeebled, the Christian delicacy and refinement on which, in his *De Officiis Ministrorum*, one of the most learned of the Western Fathers, S. Ambrose, so constantly insists, will die away,¹ while faith, if in any real sense it lives at all, will verge towards mere enthusiasm or superstition. On the part of the laity there must be loss of real confidence. They will not in a difficulty which if wisely treated in its earlier stages would with ease be overcome consult their clergyman unless they feel assured that he has really examined for himself the grounds of his own belief, and can also count upon some intellectual sympathy, instinctively recognized in his conversation and sermons.²

If to the plan of the episcopal examination, which in our former article we endeavoured to expound, instruction could be added on the great outlines of Ancient and Mediæval Church History, on Pastoral Theology definitely and scientifically treated, and, for students intellectually fitted to receive it, on the much-neglected subject of Christian Ethics³ and on elementary 'Evidences,' we have a course as complete as existing circumstances allow. But if, for instance, the study of Holy Scripture is really to become what it was to George Herbert's 'Country Parson,'⁴ we may not, indeed, ignore the

pendent on fees for very existence, must sacrifice everything to commercial success. They cannot teach their students what is best to learn, but what best helps to pass the Bishop's examination,⁵ &c.

¹ See Bishop Chr. Wordsworth's *Church History*, vol. iii. pp. 77-78.

² The Rev. R. F. Hessey's *The Twenty Thousand Clergy and the Present Crisis*, pp. 46-48.

³ See Dr. Liddon's *Work and Prospects*, &c., pp. 13-16.

⁴ *A Priest to the Temple*, ch. iv., 'The Parson's Knowledge.'

task of careful and sober criticism, but the commentators whose works are commended to young students must exhibit the deep practical acquaintance with religion in its glorious effects which characterize the writings of S. Augustine or S. Chrysostom. The pupil must not be detained too long in 'the brushwood of preliminary criticism.' The Divine purpose which binds each book of the inspired 'Library' into one connected whole must be speedily brought into view. The practical effect of this statement or that must again and again in lecture be pressed tersely but decisively home. If, again, the history of the Church is 'the manifestation and evolution of the Bible,' the chronicle of the victories of Our Lord in the continual struggle between the City of God and the City of the World, the manifestation of the concurrent sense of Catholic Christendom in regard to the true interpretation of Scripture, together with matters of discipline and practice left open in the sacred text, affording, therefore, a basis at once for unity in faith and continued progress on well-tried lines in the science of Theology, then books more numerous and simple are surely needed, which will unreservedly recognize the supernatural character of the Body of Christ, while they trace the connexion of events with the political and social tendencies of the age, which will exhibit the moral effect of the reception of the Creeds and sacraments upon life, and which will show the real causes and results of heresies and schisms in their ultimate issues, instead of lumping them together without an attempt at orderly and scientific arrangement as a mere collection of curious opinions. But it is in Dogmatics, 'a part of theological science which is strangely neglected,'¹ that some efforts at improved methods of teaching and reading are so urgently required.

Humiliating as the confession must be, it is useless to ignore the unwelcome fact that at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, the large majority of men who offer themselves for special preparation for holy orders are seriously and, indeed, dangerously ignorant of even the elements of the Christian faith, and therefore, however praiseworthy their intentions, living without any real basis for a religious life. In early boyhood, home-teaching is, we fear, becoming more infrequent than ever, and this even in the families of the clergy. From the pulpit, even of churches of considerable repute, a boy will seldom learn anything which will guide him either to an intelligent apprehension of his Creed, or to prin-

¹ Dr. Westcott, in *Essays on Cathedrals*, p. 120.

ciples of moral conduct ; while catechizing is too often so perfunctory and hurried that it is of little practical value. At the Public Schools, still more at provincial Grammar Schools, class-teaching is confined to 'Greek Testament' once or twice a week, nearly always treated undogmatically, while sermons in the chapel and instruction for confirmation, both, as a rule, high-toned and very earnest, are still far too vague in enunciation of doctrine to make, in respect of definite convictions, any lasting impression on the consciences and minds of their young hearers, who, in many instances, long for some great unmistakable principles on which to build up conduct and resist abounding temptations. At the universities a small band who are reading for honours in theology, and here and there some of the more thoughtful pass-men, will gain from the professoriate and other lecturers help most readily bestowed, but the many who take honours in other subjects or the ordinary degree will remain almost as ignorant of religious truth as when they were boys at school. While all other faculties have developed, the spiritual perceptions remain as they were in childhood, but sometimes, alas ! sullied with sins not known for a time to be such. Then they offer themselves within twelve months of the period when they are to begin to guide and teach others, to administer sacraments, and to prepare men for death, nearly always with true motives and sincerest desires to do good, but with habits of study wholly unformed, with the slightest apprehension of the value of time, and so little sense of the claims of revealed truth, or of the grounds on which the Church accepts it, that the idea of a revelation having been given at all, of doctrines being necessary truths based on real facts, of the facts exerting an actual power on life, not seldom comes to them with a feeling, at first, of bewilderment and surprise. Now, we say distinctly that to place in hands *so untrained to use them* such books, valuable as all of them are, as *Pearson on the Creed*, Bishop Browne's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, or even Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, is almost useless, until much previous instruction has been given. It is not only that men wholly unaccustomed to the subject are confused by a mass of minute detail and technical phraseology of which the terms are entirely foreign, but in the two last-named works considerable portions are occupied with seemingly interminable and intricate controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of which have no present interest, while others are to young minds absolutely repellent, however essential the knowledge of them may ultimately become to a

real student. Christian theology, therefore, does not appear as a gracious gift to His Church from Him who is Himself its Author and its subject, but as a set of opinions having no immediate interest, each labelled with the name of a favourite teacher, over which contending sects have fiercely fought and are fighting still. It is, indeed, important that the deacon should have been led to think seriously of original sin and justification, and the relation which subsists between faith and works, but it is unnecessary for him, in accordance with Bishop Burnet's advice, to 'read two large bodies' (usually condensed in some ill-written 'analysis') 'writ by some eminent men of both sides,' or 'to see how far middle ways may be taken,'¹ or to be wearied with disquisitions on the teaching of the 'Calvinistic Divines,' or the 'sentiments of Arminius,' or the 'Scholastic Opinions,' or the views of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Osiander, Agricola, and the 'Calvinistic Reformers,' over again, on the barren question of what justifying faith was supposed by these persons to be, or how it justifies. It is, again, far more desirable that he should have clear ideas as to what the sacraments *are*, and be guided to that knowledge by peaceful study of the Divine Revelation, interpreted by those primitive writers who knew from a blessed experience the results of receiving baptismal and eucharistic grace, than to be chiefly occupied in irritating inquiries set on foot in thankless controversies as to what they are not. Above all it is, under existing circumstances, especially necessary that the greatest care and time should be spent in teaching on the Being and Revealed Character of God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Intercession of our Lord, and especially on the doctrine of the Person and Work of the Holy Ghost, all considered in their actual bearing upon life and conduct. Here, too, the truth should surely be stated before the student is introduced to heresies of which the real bearing and disastrous consequences are as yet scarcely understood by him. Until, by the grace of God, some clear outlines of positive teaching have been grasped on these fundamental truths, the doctrine of the Church and sacraments cannot be adequately measured, while the life of devotion remains dwarfed and weakened. The meaning of the Prayer-book is but seldom really known. Details in abundance about the book, dates and liturgical details of small moment, are 'crammed,' only to be quickly forgotten. But the contents of the book itself are not seldom

¹ 'Of the Pastoral Care,' *The Clergyman's Instructor*, p. 185.

ignored, although it must so soon be used, under moral necessity, for the daily office, while, in consequence of this neglect, doctrinal teaching, which might otherwise be plain and devout, will, if attempted at all, be probably expressed in terms gravely inaccurate, and if 'originality' be aimed at, sometimes unintentionally irreverent.

It is quite true, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out long ago,¹ that in no branch of the Catholic Church can a single teacher be employed absolutely as a standard, because the tendency of the Apostolical succession is always to subordinate the individual to the Church and diminish his relative importance. 'There is no one book,' the present Bishop of Lincoln has said, 'which contains the sum of dogmatic theology for the Church of England. We have the faith; it is all about us; but we have to pick it up from sermons and treatises.'² This is perfectly true, and, no doubt, Manuals of Theology may become exceedingly dangerous if inadequately prepared and thoughtlessly used. But, as a matter of fact, under the existing state of things among ourselves, the majority of candidates for ordination do privately read 'compendiums' of large works, in every way objectionable, and calculated by their crudities and low-thoughted presentation of Truth, before which the soul should bow in adoration and love, to wound very deeply the spiritual life and to create a dislike towards theological pursuits. It would surely be better that, under adequate supervision, some Manuals should be provided, especially in regard to the study of the Old Testament, the Facts, considered in the light of His Eternal Personality, of the life of Our Lord, the Creeds and Sacraments, which though simple should not be shallow, which should be at once philosophical, historical, and practical, and in which reverent treatment of the subjects in hand should call forth devotion in the hearts and intellects of their readers. The excuse for private use of the 'compendiums' of which we have spoken, often resorted to almost in despair, would then be removed, while the free English study of Holy Scripture and Church History would go far towards checking the evils produced by the Manuals written and learnt in the Roman Catholic Communion. We beg respectfully to press this subject, together with that of training in the Art of Teaching, upon those whose authority and learning would enable them to attempt the supply of this great need.

Should candidates under training for holy orders be

¹ *Church Principles considered in their Results*, pp. 265, 266.

² *Address at the Ely Theological College* July 31, 1881.

encouraged to undertake during the period of preparation 'Practical Work'? The question is not so easily answered as some may think who are eager only to see such results as may supply *data* for statistics and find a place in an appendix to a 'Report.' That very careful instruction should be given not only in 'Practical Work,' but in something far higher, viz. 'Pastoral Theology,' all would be agreed, but the instruction, to be really scientific and effective, should be grounded on deeper principles, and take a range far wider than is usually the case.

'The true conception of a clergyman's work must be grounded in the deep verities of Theology. Dogmatic Theology must be his first study, Pastoral Theology his second. And as in mathematical treatises we find first *theorems* and then *problems*, so in Theology, the dogmatic department will give us our principles, the pastoral department will teach us how to apply those principles in the ministry of souls.'¹

Let our readers, in the light of these suggestive words, place the Manual of Pastoral Theology by Professor Sailer, to which reference has already been made, side by side with the majority of pious but inadequate little books which deal with the subject among ourselves, and they will at once see how very large is the field left uncovered. Directions, *e.g.*, on the Observance of the Seasons of the Christian Year, the significance of which in a very large number of churches is obscured by self-chosen anniversaries and devotions; the theory and principle of Divine Worship and its music and ritual, which if generally understood would go far towards reducing our present ceremonial anarchy into order; the Art of Teaching; the true meaning and importance of Confirmation, and the best methods of preparation for its reception; questions connected with the private administration of the sacraments; the treatment, on well-grounded principles, of Dissent and of Unbelief; and the analogies between the inner and outer life of a Pastor, are, as a rule, almost entirely omitted, to say nothing of at least a few clear outlines of healthy guidance in the department of Moral Theology, which are surely indispensable for all who would strive to minister to the needs of individual souls, and form an intelligent opinion upon the various important and difficult ecclesiastical and social questions which now await their solution.²

¹ *Lectures on Pastoral Theology*, by the Archdeacon of Bristol, p. 15, and see Sailer's *Théologie Pastorale*, vol. i. pp. 1-9.

² See Robert Nelson's *Life of Bishop Bull* in the Oxford edition of Bull's works (1827), vol. i. pp. 16, 17; and Bishop Wordsworth's Preface to

We think, however, that even if instruction was far more complete than it actually is, the practical application of lessons taught in the lecture-room should, within very carefully-defined limits and under real supervision, be encouraged. As the soul finds nurture in the practice of devotion, and the intellect in study, so in practical work the senses are cultivated to offer their service in the work of the ministry. These methods of training have certainly met with a large *consensus* of approval. Dr. Pusey contemplated such work for students whom in vision almost prophetic he saw gathered around Canterbury, Lincoln, Sarum, Ely, Lichfield, and Wells.¹ 'In practical duties,' he says, 'it is by practice that we best learn, and it will be by the gradual initiation into these duties under the eye of an experienced pastor, that the student will in these respects most profit.' The plan was commended to Cuddesdon by its founder. Among 'suggestions' to students the following sentence occurs: 'III. Aids in learning Parochial Work—Schools, Visiting, Sermons, Missionary Meetings.'²

Bishop Wordsworth was wont often to refer with thankfulness to lessons in theology learnt in pastoral visitation in his country parish of Stanford-in-the-Vale.³ And it has proved itself useful by its results. Not seldom the more thoughtful men find in it a solution of difficulties. Others of a more 'practical' turn are suddenly convinced of the real importance of study when, brought face to face with a Secularist or a Dissenter, they find themselves altogether unable to reply to simplest objections to the Christian faith or Church order. It removes the awkward shyness of an untrained diaconate as men learn, to use Robert Nelson's words, 'how to make their applications to persons in times of sickness, and have such a method formed to guide their addresses of that nature, that they might never be at a loss when they are called upon to assist sick and dying persons.'⁴ It shows the necessity, while it suggests topics for intercessory prayer. But we repeat emphatically that it needs limitations and

Bishop Sanderson's *Lectures on Conscience and Human Law*, p. ix, and *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. pp. 202-203. George Herbert regarded such knowledge as a recognized part of a priest's equipment. See *A Priest to the Temple*, ch. v.: 'He greatly esteems also of cases of conscience; wherein he is much versed.'

¹ *Remarks on Cathedral Institutions*, pp. 79-82.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 245.

³ *Miscellanies*, vol. i. pp. 326, 327. See also Canon J. Wordsworth's Memorial Sermon, *Love and Discipline*, pp. 11, 12.

⁴ *Life of Bull*, *ut supra*.

constant guidance. Special cases of chronic sickness, a small and well-chosen district, a Bible Class, and Cottage Lectures—these, with admission to instructions of various kinds conducted by the parish priest, afford ample scope. Preaching in Mission Chapels licensed for administration of the sacraments is not the work of yet unexamined and unlicensed ordinands, and the brief space of retirement and study at a Theological College scarcely permits of interruption by the claims of Night Schools, Parochial Entertainments, Visits to Hospitals, or courses of lectures by Sanitary Reformers on ventilation or the improvement of drains. These subjects can be considered afterwards, and it is, we are persuaded, the unwise excess to which practical training has been often carried which has called forth criticism not undeserved upon it. And in order to meet the varied needs of different temperaments it is certainly most desirable that in some of our colleges it should not be allowed.

But, whether there be practical training or not, it is becoming apparent to not a few thoughtful men, by no means of one school, that in the face of the great warfare against sin and ignorance which is entailed upon the Church by the enormous growth of our large towns, there is needed

'a new order of Mission Clergy, consecrated, not by earthly irrevocable vows, but by mighty self-sacrifice, and by the hands of invisible consecration to celibacy and poverty—the celibacy and the poverty not as now, compulsorily imposed, which eat into men's souls like fire, but humbly accepted in voluntary response to the call of God.'¹

But, while no order can possibly be instituted until men led by the Holy Spirit come forward, under due sanction, to send it forth, the atmosphere in which those men may hear the call can be formed, and we feel that there is room in the Church of England for, at any rate, one institution, in which the unuttered longings of some of the strongest and ablest of our youth might find an ascetic training, simpler and severer than would be either right or possible for the majority, such as would test their moral fibre and prepare them for years of hard, self-denying, and systematic toil in winning back for Christ men and women of the higher as of the lower

¹ Archdeacon Farrar's Sermon in Westminster Abbey, for the Bishop of London's Fund, June 21, 1884. In a collection of essays by Dissenting writers, entitled *Ecclesia*, p. 180, the late Mr. Baldwin Brown said that 'Monastic missions to the pagans of our great Christian cities may not be among the impossible things of these modern days.' The title of the essay is 'The "Religious Life" and Christian Society.'

classes now lost to Him and to us, whose recovery ordinary parochial efforts seem unable to accomplish, but in whose alienation the Church cannot tamely acquiesce.

One of the most important parts of the training for holy orders still remains to be noticed. We mean the careful organization of the deacon's religious life. Wise guidance in the choice of a first curacy is one of the greatest services which can be rendered to him, and we trust that we shall not be thought to be lacking in earnestness if we venture to suggest that the claims of country rectors deserve some consideration, and that, under the charge of holy and self-denying men, a curacy in a large village or market town, not 'dull' to those who can read its history or mark the idiosyncracies of its inhabitants, often offers a better sphere for work in the earliest years of a man's ministry than the crowded parish in the 'East End' or some church 'with a great reputation' in a manufacturing centre. Let the strongest men, graduates and non-graduates alike, begin the ordained life, if the leading of outward circumstances coincides with the inward directing voice, in large town parishes, but it is becoming necessary to protest against the notion that the choice of a country curacy in which to pass the first few years of the ministry is a sign either of incapacity or want of earnestness. 'There might be,' the present Bishop of Ely recently said, 'as real self-denial in settling in a remote fen-curacy as amongst the outcast poor of London or in the wilds of Central Africa.'¹ And, on the other hand—to say nothing of physical and mental power—it is not everyone who can, even after special preparation, face all at once a life so broken and hurried as that described in one of his Cambridge lectures on pastoral work by the Bishop Suffragan of Bedford:

'From his early morning service till he wearily puts away his books or his writing at night he has no rest, no time for thought, no quiet moments. One thing succeeds another without intermission. He lives in a rush all the day long. . . . His prayers suffer. . . . His reading suffers, or is most likely thrust out altogether. His character suffers, becoming dry, formal, hasty, and perhaps even impatient and irritable.'²

Surely if an ordinand, knowing himself perhaps far better than some enthusiastic but unwise friends, believes that a few years' experience in a smaller parish will enable him ultimately to execute his ministry more efficiently, there is no

¹ Speech at the anniversary of the Ely Theological College, 1884.

² *Pastoral Work*, p. 39.

reason to blame him. A man really in earnest will in such a sphere gain a fixed habit of communion with God. He will go some way towards filling in the ground-work of study, of which the main outlines were drawn during the period of special preparation. He will take real pains with sermons on the basis of which he will be able to preach more frequently with ease and accuracy hereafter. He will intimately know his vicar, engaged like himself in uninterrupted pastoral ministration, and receive his sympathy. Through personal dealing with every parishioner, he will attain the true spirit of a pastor which, however crowded with engagements his future life may become, will never leave him. An afternoon spent in four or five careful visits in a country parish will often convey far more teaching about human nature and about God's dealings with men than a score of rapid visits, all of a piece, in the streets of a town. If Bishop Wilberforce and Dean Hook, Bishop Feild and Bishop Patteson¹ were trained for work which has made a lasting impression on Church history in simple village parishes, we are at a loss to understand why there should be any hesitation in following their example, while, if all devotion and ability are to be lavished on the towns and none spared for the country, it is unnecessary to point out, especially under present political circumstances, that the future usefulness of the Church of England may be very widely injured. And the curate who went thus disciplined and experienced to a town parish would bring with him an insight into character and formed habits of devotion which would enable him to work far more strongly and effectually than the untrained enthusiasm and impatient craving after immediate results which too often mar really earnest efforts now.

But whether the first curacy be in town or country, it is quite time that some limit should be firmly imposed upon the over-strain to which many a deacon is subjected. Secret anxiety about their work depresses, not seldom to the extent of a complete 'break-down,' the diffident, while the multiplicity of engagements only adds self-confidence to the confident. There are, indeed, certain forms of work in connexion with social purity, unbelief, and special missions, now put most

¹ Bishop Wilberforce, Curate of Checkendon, 1828-1830; Rector of Brightstone, 1830-1840. Dean Hook, Curate of Whippingham, 1821-1827. Bishop Feild, Curate of Kidlington, 1827-1834; Rector of English Bicknor, 1834-1844. Bishop Patteson, Curate of Alfrington, 1853-1855. The words of Dean Hook, vol. i. pp. 60-61, on the advantages which his 'country breeding' had secured him, deserve attention.

thoughtlessly into young hands, such as, we are convinced, bring too often moral peril in their train, grave temptations, or at least perplexities, ending sometimes in harassing doubts and diminution for years of spiritual power. No one of calm and well-balanced judgment can really suppose that results such as these are in accordance with the mind of God, but, even apart from this graver indiscretion, the burden thoughtlessly imposed on the deacon in regard to preaching is often far too oppressive. We feel, therefore, that the recent regulation of the Bishop, promulgated in the Diocesan Synod of Lichfield, with regard to preaching by deacons, deserves the thanks of all thoughtful Churchmen. It is satisfactory to find from the Bishop's Pastoral Letter 'Ad Clerum,' that 'in every case of which he had any knowledge, the deacons have shown themselves to be wiser than some of the newspaper critics, and have expressed their grateful sense of the help thus afforded.'¹

But the deacon needs something more than guidance in choosing a curacy and distributing his work. To speak quite plainly, the younger clergy, both priests and deacons, would be grateful for more sympathy than is commonly shown by their elders in matters which touch their own spiritual life. A very noble work might be done by archdeacons in connexion with the superintendence of the deacons together with the lay readers of the diocese. As early as the fifth century, if not before, such discipline and instruction, which need not in the least interfere with the relations subsisting between curate and incumbent, formed a part of the archidiaconal office.² According to the rubric prefixed to the ordering both of deacons and priests, it is the archdeacon, as the head of the clergy, who presents the candidates to the Bishop. His attendance at ordinations is distinctly contemplated also in Canon xxxi. It would therefore seem that aid in the training of the candidates for priesthood is a special contribution which the archidiaconal office should make to the wellbeing of the whole Church, and as the Canon enjoins the presence at ordinations of 'the dean and two prebendaries at the least,' the assistance in this task of the cathedral body is also contemplated. We believe that such help from a recognized officer in the diocese, appointed with this distinct work in view, would be welcomed not only by curates, but by their vicars

¹ *Lichfield Diocesan Magazine*, September 1884, p. 178; January 1885, p. 7.

² *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 137; *Primary Charge* (1840) of Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce.

also, and Churchmen will watch with interest the restoration of this training in those dioceses where it is beginning again to be attempted. The supervision which is resented is that of novel organizations, not of an historical office regaining powers which are at once ancient and well-defined.

It is not the province of this article to discuss the intellectual part of the examination for priest's orders, but we believe that it is during the diaconate, thus controlled and guided and instructed, that the great standard works such as Pearson, Hooker, and Butler would be most profitably read. One of Bishop Jebb's requirements might be more generally enforced—namely, the furnishing of carefully-written notes and analyses of portions of the dogmatic treatises set for examination. If it were possible to separate the ordination of priests from that of deacons a great step would be gained. Candidates for the priesthood might surely be expected to value a period of devotion combined with instructions specially adapted to needs which by candidates for the diaconate are unfelt because still prospective.

The bestowal of the priesthood crowns the preparations for ordination, but it marks the commencement only of preparation for the *work* of a clergyman, and, that the end may be as the beginning, there are few really earnest men who during the earlier days of their ministry have not found the need of some organization of life, imposed by the gentle pressure of Church authority, such as would stimulate them to maintain the ideal of the Ordinal. How largely cathedral foundations might contribute to the end we must leave our readers to discover from the pages of Dean Goulburn and Dr. Westcott,¹ but there are other methods, complementary to these, which might at any moment be put into operation.

In every large town, unless party spirit hinders common action, some such unions as the 'Conférences Ecclésiastiques,' founded in Paris during the seventeenth century by S. Vincent de Paul, which produced so marked an impression upon their members, might with the greatest advantage be inaugurated under the presidency of the Archdeacon or Rural Dean.² More than anything else, associations organized under the sanctions of recognized authority for the purposes of devotion and support in pastoral work would lessen the isolation in which so many men have failed. Practical work becomes only too soon the most mechanical routine, if it be not inspired

¹ Dean Goulburn, *The Cathedral System*, pp. 144-146; Dr. Westcott, in *Essays on Cathedrals*, pp. 125-127, 129.

² *Life of S. Vincent de Paul*, by Mrs. R. F. Wilson, pp. 117-122.

by common faith and sustained by common love. It loses all dignity and interest if the imagination is not cultivated and hope is not maintained. Such centres, too, of intellectual and spiritual association as the Congregation of the Priests of the Oratory, forming here and there a *point d'appui* for the toil of many a lonely worker, are beginning to be included among our needs. The thoughts of some of our readers will revert at this suggestion to the sentence in which Bishop Jackson in his latest Charge

'noticed with thankfulness an interesting experiment which is due to the liberality of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has appointed to the well-endowed benefice of All Hallows, Barking, an able and experienced rector, prepared to maintain out of his income a staff of curates to act from time to time as Mission Clergymen in poor and populous parishes where and when such help is most needed.'

The experiment is one which has great possibilities of usefulness, not only for parishes rich and poor alike, but for the younger clergy who minister in them. If the spirit which animated such men as De Bérulle, De Condren, and Olier rests upon it, these possibilities will become realised.

But after all it is to the belief of the Church of England as a whole that our Fathers in God must look for moral support as they begin, with authority possessed by the Episcopate alone, to organize the life of their clergy. Meetings of the younger clergy of a diocese, such as one described in the Bishop of Durham's Primary Charge, delivered in December 1882, will forge links of attachment and loyalty not easily broken.

'The clergy,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'who had been ordained by myself, and are still holding curacies in the reduced diocese of Durham were invited to Auckland for a portion of two days. Though the arrangements were unavoidably made at a late date, so that only short notice could be given, as many as seventy of the younger clergy accepted the invitation. A Greek Testament reading, a celebration of Holy Communion, chapel services with addresses, a conference on a subject of pastoral interest, formed the programme of the proceedings. I have reason to think that the opportunity was appreciated by those present, and I look forward to the recurrence of such meetings.'

In 'the Pastoral Order of the Holy Ghost,' founded on All Saints' Day, 1883, by Bishop Maclagan in the Diocese of Lichfield, a common bond of union, involving 'no new vows or obligations,' for 'the higher fulfilment of the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God,' has been found to strengthen 'the desire and purpose to fulfil as perfectly as

possible the vows of Baptism and of Ordination.' The Order already includes about 110 members. Its rules, which are quite simple, are so framed as to embrace every shade of recognized Church opinion. Its intent is one with which all who realize what the obligations of the Priesthood are must surely agree.

Thus slowly but certainly has the gentle might of Him who is above all and in all agencies of man for His glory prepared the Church of England for a crisis distinct from though not more formidable than many through which she has passed. Institutions already forming in the midst of universities almost secularized will in days to come watch over those whose vocation is true, as they approach, through the avenue of liberal studies, the special preparation which Cathedral Schools and other societies are with increasing ability able to offer. To non-graduates a college in London constituting in itself almost a University with its varied departments and strong professoriate, some of the noblest of our ancient seats of religion, and an examination which commands increasing confidence, afford opportunities of no mean training. Without the risk of a barren uniformity, these varied bodies are, in many ways, approaching a common line of action and instruction, while devotion, study, and pastoral training are being animated with a stronger spirit of vital religion. Improvements in the conduct of ordinations, set on foot by Bishops Wilberforce and Hamilton, have within the last fifteen years been very largely extended, and, as divisions are becoming gradually healed, pastoral life and work are as gradually becoming deepened through greater unity in prayer and sympathy in work. No one will deny that defects neither few nor slight remain. Some of these are due to causes which a higher conception of the meaning of ordination among Churchmen and a greater disposition to strengthen by endowment our Theological Colleges would go far towards removing, and there would certainly seem to be no nobler object to the advancement of which almsgiving and intercession could be more fitly directed. But, in spite of some failures and mistakes, the motto of the steady and growing work of the education of the clergy during the last half-century has been, and will continue to be, 'from strength to strength.'

ART. VI—BENHAM'S DIOCESAN HISTORY OF WINCHESTER.

Diocesan Histories: Winchester. By WILLIAM BENHAM, B.D., F.S.A. (London, 1884.)

HERE is another volume of the S.P.C.K. series of Diocesan Histories. Winchester is the only case, so far as we know, in which the office of historiographer has been entrusted to a clergyman not belonging to the diocese. Mr. Benham is a practised writer, who has handled many subjects, but will perhaps be best known to our readers as the editor, and in part the author, of the memoir of *Catherine and Craufurd Tait*. In the present work, after a few introductory pages, he comes to the mission which evangelized the West Saxons; and here at the outset he astounds us by saying that their 'apostle,' S. Birinus, had been 'a friar in the monastery of S. Gregory at Rome.' Friars in the seventh century! Birinus may have been a Roman, but William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, was uncertain as to his origin;¹ and the story of his connexion with S. Gregory's monastery is a Wintonian addition to the original record, obviously suggested by the facts of Augustine's life.² Mr. Benham does not observe that Asterius, the consecrator of Birinus, whom Bede calls Bishop of Genoa, was, in fact, Archbishop of Milan. He proceeds to tell us that 'the place of the baptism of Kynegils is not stated, but we may assume it to have been Winchester.' However, it is stated; for although Bede does not say where the baptism took place, the Chronicle expressly tells us³ that Kynegils, as well as Cuichelm and Cuthred, was baptized at Dorchester. It is likely enough that the old Roman town in that northern portion of Wessex, which the Mercians had not yet conquered, should have been found a convenient meeting-place for Kynegils and his intended son-in-law, the saintly Northumbrian King Oswald, and should also have been chosen as the see of Birinus, or, as Bede says, 'given to him by both the kings,' because he had there baptized Kynegils when Oswald, as godfather, 'lifted him

¹ *Gest. Pontif.* Rolls Series, p. 157. The Chronicler's phrase, 'Romish bishop,' need not mean more than that he was sent by, or, as Bede says, came to Britain after conference with, Pope Honorius.

² Rudborne, in Wharton's *Angl. Sac.* i. 190.

³ In four out of five MSS.: see *Sax. Chron.* Rolls Series, i. 46; ii. 22.

up out of the font.' Bede knows nothing of any connexion between Birinus in his lifetime and Winchester. For him,¹ the ecclesiastical history of 'Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancæstir appellatur,' begins when Kenwalch, the son of Kynegils, 'divides the province into two dioceses, and gives to Wini an episcopal seat' at Winchester; and he mentions the church of SS. Peter and Paul as existing there when Birinus' remains were removed to it from Dorchester, under Bishop Hedda, whose accession is dated in 676. The Chronicler tells us more, saying that Kenwalch ordered the building of 'the minster' of S. Peter at Winchester, which was hallowed in 648. The Winchester annalist² gives a fine development to the story: Kynegils now appears as making preparations for a stately church in the royal city, 'worthy of so great a bishop' as S. Birinus, whose establishment at Dorchester was but provisional. He collects materials, and marks out 'the whole land surrounding Winchester, from the centre to the circumference, to the extent of seven leucæ' (ten and a half miles?), by way of endowment; but 'being prevented by mortal sickness' he causes Kenwalch to swear 'in animam suam,' in presence of Birinus, that *he* will build a church worthy of a bishop's see, and endow it with the land thus set apart, which promise Kenwalch fulfils, and adds three manors to his father's gift; and then, as Agilbert, Bishop of Dorchester, was unwilling to remove to Winchester, a division of the diocese took place. Thomas Rudborne, in his *Historia Major Wintoniensis*, discourses at length on the ecclesiastical *primordia* of the city, describing with much precision the dedication of a monastic church under King Lucius on the 29th of October, A.D. 169; its destruction by 'the ministers of Diocletian; its restoration after the close of the persecution, and re-dedication to S. Amphibalus; its conversion into a temple of Dagon³ under Cerdic; the designs of Kynegils, and their accomplishment by Kenwalch, in the third foundation of a church and monastery at Winchester. Milner, in his *History of Winchester*, reproduces this tale with a confidence astonishing to readers of our generation; and Mr. Benham 'dismisses at once' all the statements about Lucius's cathedral, but accepts in effect the annalist's story about the preparations made by Kynegils. Now, it is more than probable that so important a place as 'Venta of the Belgians'

¹ Bede, iii. 7.

² *Ann. de Wintonia*, Rolls Series, p. 4.

³ It is curious that a heap of stones near the cathedral during the usurpation was popularly called 'the temple of Dagon.'

possessed a church, at any rate, in the fourth century ; but we cannot rely on the legendary details with which monastic imagination filled up an unwelcome blank. It may be that Kynegils meant to build a church at Winchester, and that Kenwalch did actually build it ; for the latter statement there is some solid authority ;¹ but we cannot find authority for Mr. Benham's date of 'Christmas Day' for that church's dedication, and we suspect that he was thinking of the great baptism of Kentish people in 597. He sees no difficulty in Milner's suggestion that the church-building operations of Kenwalch were assisted by Benedict Biscop, who 'took immense pains to search out the best continental artists to build churches in Britain.' Yes, he did—in 675, three years after the death of Kenwalch (a date rightly given by Mr. Benham), and twenty-seven years after the alleged completion of the church at Winchester. The bare record of Bishop Wini's simony in Bede was naturally unsatisfactory to the loyal feelings of Winchester monks ; and a story of his repentance, and of what he said 'continually' as an expression of it, grew up in their cloistral talk, and, although passed over in the *Annales de Wintonia*, is given by Rudborne, and after him by Mr. Benham, who says in support of it that 'Rudborne, being connected with Winchester, is more likely to be correct than Bede, who lived in the north.' Bede's knowledge of West Saxon affairs did not extend to much detail ; but he has this slight advantage over Rudborne, that he wrote in the eighth century, and not in the fifteenth. Mr. Benham gives some interesting particulars about the district of the Meon river in Hampshire, which Wilfrid evangelized as a piece of Wessex then attached to the realm of the South Saxons ; but we can hardly suppose that he considers Corhampton church to be really of Wilfrid's building. He calls it 'unquestionably Saxon' ; but Mr. Freeman would remind him that 'Saxon' is a word suggestive of various dates, and his own authority—Mr. J. H. Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*—refers the church to the eleventh century.

That second division of the huge West Saxon diocese, whereby Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Berkshire, and Somerset were formed into the new diocese of Sherborne, now represented by Salisbury, is recorded at p. 12 ; but we find only a casual mention of Daniel, who at that time (705) succeeded Hedda at Winchester. Yet he was a remarkable man. To mention

¹ The cathedral claims to possess the bones of Kynegils as its founder, and of 'Kenulph'—i.e. Kenwalch ; and its oldest estate, Chilcombe, is traditionally said to have been granted by Kynegils.

only one point, he took a most practical interest in the mission work of S. Boniface,¹ of whom, by the way, it is curious to read that he 'died on Whitsun Eve, 756,' without a word to indicate that his death was, in fact, a heroic martyrdom. A little more might have been said as to the traditional kind-heartedness and humility of the patron saint of Winchester. The foundation of the 'New Minster,' as it was called in distinction from S. Swithun's 'Old Minster,' or cathedral, is recorded under the reign of Alfred, who began the foundation 'for the use of the learned monk S. Grimbald, whom he had brought from S. Omer.' It was built on the north side of the cathedral, and was finished and solemnly dedicated after Alfred's death, under his son Edward the Elder, who removed his father's body from S. Swithun's² to a grave in the new church—a translation which had lamentable consequences.

When our author remarks as to the monastic movement carried on by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, with the co-operation, though under the moderating hand, of Dunstan, that although the motive was honest and praiseworthy, 'the effect was to set disgrace and shame on wedded love,' it is fair to remember that its promoters could appeal to a large array of Latin Church authorities against the conjugal life of priests, and that the canons displaced on a memorable Lenten Saturday during Mass, in favour of Benedictines trained at Abingdon, had lapsed into easy-going neglect of rule, devolved the responsibilities of divine service on pauperized 'vicars,' and 'turned a deaf ear' to the most authoritative rebukes. Bishop Stubbs pronounces that the movement, 'with all its drawback, was justifiable, perhaps absolutely necessary.'³ Henceforward we read of priors as governing the cathedral monastery, the bishop himself being regarded as abbot.⁴ Ethelwold rebuilt the church, and it was rededicated in 980. There is not much else in these pages to be noticed until we come to the episcopate of Walkelin, memorable in the history of the cathedral. The sixth chapter gives a general idea of the minster as he rebuilt it, probably on a somewhat different site, and certainly on a much grander scale. The nave was at least as long as at present. Mr. Benham, following Professor Willis,⁵ extends it forty feet further west-

¹ See his letters to Boniface, in Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils*, &c. iii. 304, 346.

² See *Liber de Hyda*, Rolls Series, p. xxviii.

³ *Memorials of S. Dunstan*, Rolls Series, p. xcvi.

⁴ So it was at Canterbury.

⁵ *Archit. Hist. of Winch. Cathedral*, p. 23.

ward; but we believe there is reason to think that, in fact, Walkelin only laid the foundations of two huge western towers, which would have stood out beyond the present west end. There was a massive tower, like the present, at the intersection, with an apsidal choir, one piece of which may still be seen behind the reredos; beyond the choir rose two small towers, and beyond them an apsidal Lady chapel. 'The transepts remain in their beautiful simplicity;' it is rather over them, and over the low central tower, than over the whole church, that 'the name of Walkelin may be said to be written.'

His work was begun in 1079, and finished in 1093. Mr. Benham gives the quaint traditions of the *ruse* by which he obtained more timber for his church than the Conqueror had promised to bestow. But a diocesan history ought surely to have brought out more important facts connected with Walkelin's ecclesiastical policy. He had once designed to undo the work of Ethelwold; he had ready forty canons, duly arrayed 'in copes and surplices,' to supersede the monks in his cathedral; but Lanfranc, indignant, obtained a papal order prohibiting the change. William of Malmesbury, of course, thought Walkelin much to blame; but charitably imputed the fault to 'secret advisers,' and says in a later passage that he 'soon came right,' and treated his monks as sons, as brothers, even as lords.¹ The Winchester annalist, who quotes Malmesbury, adds that whenever Walkelin celebrated Mass in his own chapel, he always had two monks as deacon and subdeacon. As admirers of S. Anselm, however, we must rank Walkelin among the meaner-spirited prelates who harassed a primate of higher tone than themselves; he even ventured to tell Anselm in a great assembly in 1097 that he could hardly believe he would hold to his purpose.² Personally, no doubt, the bishop was a man to be loved, and the annalist takes care to say that he 'ate neither fish nor flesh, and only drank beer or wine very seldom, and then very sparingly.' His end was pathetic. On the Christmas Day of 1098 he had begun Mass, when a message was brought to him at the altar: King William required of him two hundred pounds without any delay. The old man knew that he could not get the money without robbing the poor or the Church; he prayed to be taken away from a troublesome world: on the tenth day following his prayer

¹ Malmesbury, *Gest. Pontif.* Rolls Series, pp. 71, 172. Freeman, *Norm. Cong.* iv. 372.

² Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 38.

was heard. Rufus, of course, was only too glad to get the revenues of the see into his grasp, and it was vacant until after that awful burial when the 'desier of God' was laid beneath the newly erected central nave of Winchester, in the grave of a self-excommunicated reprobate, no man daring to offer prayer for such a soul. His brother, Henry I., in compliance with the general wish, named William Giffard (not, as Mr. Benham writes it, Gifford), for the bishopric; but difficulties arose in connection with the then 'burning question' of investiture. As Dean Church remarks, a change of ideas must have been setting in when 'one who had been so deep in the secular business' of the Norman kings as Giffard 'positively declined to receive investiture by the pastoral staff from the king's hands.'¹ Henry, it seems, connived at his receiving it from Anselm, who was willing to consecrate him, but not the two other bishops-elect of Salisbury and Hereford. The king then ordered Gerard, Archbishop of York, to consecrate. The bishop-elect of Hereford demurred, and Giffard, after actually going to the church for consecration, was conscience-struck,² and, 'interrupting the service, declared that he would rather be spoiled of all his goods than receive consecration in such a fashion.' He 'was summoned to the presence of the king, to hear the complaints of the bishops and the threats of the court.' But he had the courage of his convictions, and was content to be 'despoiled and banished' in such a cause. The readers of Dean Church's incomparable *Life of S. Anselm* will remember the compromise whereby Anselm agreed that bishops or abbots should do homage (which Pope Urban had forbidden, but Pope Paschal had permitted), and Henry, on his part, agreed that they should not receive the 'staff and ring' from the king or any layman. Thereupon Giffard, with other bishops whose consecration had been suspended by the dispute, was consecrated at Canterbury, on August 11, 1107; and, as Mr. Benham tells us, he 'ruled the diocese for twenty-eight years.' He sanctioned the migration of the New Minster community from a home which had proved too close to S. Swithun's for mutual convenience, insomuch that 'in the one choir the chanting of the other' could be plainly heard, with a disturbing result, and the simultaneous ringing of the bells 'produced a very great confusion.'³ Moreover, 'the water flowing down the streets from the west gate had formed a pestiferous

¹ *Life of S. Anselm*, p. 265.

² 'Amore compunctus justitiæ mox inhorruit' &c., Eadmer, p. 69.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii. 436.

marsh around the New Minster.' Accordingly, it was arranged that its monks should remove to Hyde Meadow, just beyond the northern wall of the city, at the distance of half a mile from the cathedral precinct, on which occasion, says the editor of the *Liber de Hyda* in the Rolls Series—

'the body of Alfred was carried in solemn pomp to a new resting-place, where it was to lie, undisturbed even by the sacrilegious excesses which degraded the Reformation of the sixteenth century; it was now to rest in peace till the verge of the nineteenth century, and then, only too characteristically, to be rooted up for the better accommodation of the Hampshire felons,'

when, in 1788, 'the magistrates of Hampshire, lay and clerical, purchased the field in which the ruins of Hyde Abbey stood' for the purpose of erecting there a county Bridewell'—a barbaric outrage which Dr. Milner, himself in part an eye-witness, described with indignant grief just ten years after it had occurred.¹ Bishop Giffard was a benefactor to the recently finished priory of S. Mary Overy in Southwark, and in the last year of his episcopate (1128) he introduced the Cistercians into England, and by the same act secured for the name of their first settlement an immortality which he little dreamt of; for 'Sir Walter, poring over the monastic records, was pleased with' its sound, and the title of 'The Waverley Novels' was the result. Bishop Giffard involved himself in an unfortunate dispute with the monks of his own cathedral about certain churches on their estates; and they signified their opinion of the irregularity of his proceedings by the strange symbolism of turning the crucifixes upside down, and walking in procession 'contrary to the course of the sun and the custom of the Church.'² In the end he had to give way, and there was a pathetic scene of reconciliation, after which the bishop treated all his monks with a cordiality which a meaner soul could not have exhibited under defeat. After his death, a very different personage fills a much larger space in English history. Henry de Blois,

¹ 'In digging for the foundations of that mournful edifice, at almost every stroke of the mattock or spade some ancient sepulchre was violated, the venerable contents of which were treated with marked indignity' (Milner, *Hist. of Winch.* ii. 249, ed. 3). But he had said just before that, at the destruction of the abbey church in 1538, 'the tombs of the illustrious dead were broken into, since we are assured that two little tablets of lead, inscribed with the names of Alfred and his son Edward, were found in the monument which contained their remains.' A few arches of the abbey are still visible in a farm-yard.

² *Annal. de Winton.* a. 1122. The annalist intimates that Giffard was misled by 'pravi homines.' See Rudborne, in *Angl. Sac.* i. 278.

though not technically a prince bishop, was one of the grandest of those mediæval prelates whose magnificence in the secular order seems almost to eclipse their spiritual dignity. Grandson of the Conqueror, brother of King Stephen—transferred by his uncle Henry I. from the great abbacy of Glastonbury to the great bishopric of Winchester, invested by Innocent II. with the lofty powers of a legate, he stands forth in the wild anarchical period of 1139–47 as something like a ‘setter-up and puller-down of kings.’ Alienated by *esprit de corps* from a brother who could seize and imprison bishops, he is gradually won over to Matilda’s cause¹ by her promise to take his counsel as to high ecclesiastical appointments; in March 1141 he leads her solemnly into his cathedral, and from the altar steps ‘blesses all who should bless and obey her, and curses all who should curse and resist her.’² Soon afterwards, while presiding as legate over a synod at Winchester, he makes the daring assertion that to the clergy of England it chiefly belongs to elect sovereigns, and thereupon proposes and carries the election of Matilda in place of Stephen, justly set aside for breach of faith.³ But the stupid arrogance of this new ‘Lady of England’ drives him back to the allegiance of a brother in whom there was much to love, and whose queen appealed to his natural affection.⁴ Matilda besieges his castellated house at Wolvesey; he comes with a strong force to its relief; the city suffers grievously from both parties; in another synod he denounces her as unfit to reign, and calls on the clergy, ‘in the name of God and of the *Apostolicus*’—i.e. Pope Innocent—to support Stephen as rightful king. Twelve years afterwards, Henry joins with Archbishop Theobald in the good work of making a treaty at Winchester between Stephen and the son of Matilda, afterwards Henry II.

So splendid and impressive a figure as Henry de Blois might well fascinate Giraldus Cambrensis, who, after allowing that he seemed to be involved in the pride of secular life, takes care to add that there was really no haughtiness either in his mind or in his demeanour, and that he persevered in all monastic virtues, and in the strictest personal purity.⁵ Henry of Huntingdon is less complimentary: ‘Novum quoddam ex integro et corrupto compositum, scilicet monachus et miles,’⁶ in allusion to the siege of Winchester. The monks of the New

¹ For his temporizing, see *Gesta Stephani*, p. 75.

² Gervase of Cant., *Rolls Series*, i. 118. Lingard, ii. 174.

³ William of Malmesbury was present, and vouches for this claim.

⁴ *Gest. Steph.* p. 80. ⁵ *Angl. Sac.* ii. 421. ⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 700.

Minster complained bitterly that the bishop's followers had burned their abbey, and that he had extorted from them the surrender of various precious vessels; and their suits against him 'dragged on their weary length for nearly twenty years.'¹ At Canterbury the name of the legate-bishop must have been odious.² He 'pleaded hard at Rome,' as Mr. Freeman says,³ that the see of the ancient capital of Wessex might be raised to metropolitan authority over the western sees and over Chichester, and that another suffragan see might be erected at Hyde Abbey, or at least that it might be made independent of Canterbury. Pope Eugenius III., who disliked Henry, was deaf to the requests. 'At any rate,' Henry asked, 'let me be personally exempted from obedience to Canterbury.' The Pope rejected his prayer in what Mr. Freeman calls 'a very strange parable,' at once unseemly and bitter; and Henry had to swallow the rebuff. Mr. Benham refers on the authority of Matthew Paris—he should rather have cited Wendover⁴—to the kindly decree of a synod held under Henry's legatine presidency in 1142, that men ploughing in fields should be deemed as much in sanctuary as if they were within a churchyard; and dwells at length on that noble foundation of the Hospital of S. Cross, which, although enlarged in a later age by another high-born bishop, must always 'keep green the memory' of Henry de Blois. Thirteen men, too poor to maintain themselves, were to be resident in the house, and a hundred others were to have their dinner daily in 'the Hundred Men's Hall.' The institution was to be governed by a master, whose title recalls that systematic malversation which was detected and punished in the fourteenth century, but renewed in the eighteenth, and continued until 'public opinion' was roused to demand an inquiry in the middle of the nineteenth. Of course there was due provision made for the services of the hospital church, a noble Norman minster, restored of late years with a glare of colouring which, Mr.

¹ *Liber de Hyda*, Introd. p. xlix. A letter of sympathy, but of gentle reproof, from Thomas of Canterbury to Henry, refers to this feud.

² Gervase of Canterbury says of him, 'Prius quidem regnum funeste turbaverat,' i. 156.

³ *Norm. Cong.* v. 317, referring to the *Historia Pontificalis* in Pertz, *Monum. Hist. Germ.* xx. 542, but not giving Henry's last abatement of his request: the Winchester annalist says that the request was made to Innocent II., who was Henry's friend and patron, and who died long before the time to which the *Hist. Pont.* refers. Rudborne (who strongly sympathized with such aspirations for Winchester) says that Lucius II. 'sent the pall,' but on account of 'murmurs' did not carry out his purpose.

⁴ Wendover, *Flores Hist.* ed. Coxe, ii. 232.

Benham quietly observes, will probably 'startle those who see it for the first time.' To return to the founder: Mr. Benham says that 'when William, Archbishop of York, was driven from his see in 1147, it was to the Bishop of Winchester, whom he had ordained and consecrated, that he fled; and the bishop received him dutifully and respectfully.' This is a strange inversion of the story. William of York was Bishop Henry's nephew on the mother's side. It was Henry who, fourteen years after his own accession to Winchester, consecrated William for York; and when William's election was quashed, on the ground of 'undue influence,' by Pope Eugenius III. in Council, the hospitality which he received at Winchester was that of an uncle strong enough in his own position to give him all the honours of an archbishop.¹ Far more important was the part which Henry de Blois took in the quarrel between Henry II. and the great primate (whom Mr. Freeman prefers to call 'Thomas of London, son of Becket'). He joined in recommending Thomas for the Chancellorship, and took the chief part in his consecration for Canterbury, not, as Mr. Benham says, on 'Whitsun Day, 1162,' but on the Sunday after Pentecost.² At the Northampton Assembly in 1164 the once imperious prelate advised Thomas, for prudence sake, temporarily to resign his archbishopric, and on hearing of his secret withdrawal sighed out with tears, 'God's blessing go with him!'³ John of Salisbury, the loyal adherent of the exiled primate, asked the archdeacon of Surrey to obtain from Bishop Henry some supplies for his wants, and the application was generously answered.⁴ When the archbishop returned to England towards the close of 1170, he spent one day with Henry in Southwark; and when, in the next year, eight months after the terrible tragedy at Canterbury, the aged bishop, then on his death-bed, received a visit from Henry II., he spoke his mind in stern reproaches and predictions of 'adversity'⁵—a warning which might have seemed the more significant as coming from an old man of such unique antecedents, who for the last two years had literally spent on the poor his whole income, save what might provide the barest maintenance for himself and a small household. But the king, as if disappointed at not being made heir to his kinsman's wealth,⁶

¹ Raine, *Lives of Archbishops of York*, p. 223.

² See *Materials for History of Abp. Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series, iii. 188.

³ *Ibid.* i. 36; iv. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 343; iv. 156.

⁵ Wendover, ii. 365.

⁶ *Materials for Hist. of Abp. Becket*, iv. 157.

kept the see vacant for nearly two years, and appropriated its revenue after the evil fashion of Rufus. At last he permitted the monks of S. Swithun's to elect Richard Toclive, archdeacon of Poitiers, who 'had been an ardent opponent of Archbishop Becket, and indeed had incurred the sentence of excommunication.' The king made this prelate chief justiciary. Perhaps it was in repentance for his ecclesiastical offences that he founded the hospital of S. Mary Magdalene, which, like S. Cross, became a focus of abuses, and from which Waynflete, once its master, 'took the name for his magnificent college.' The next bishop, Godfrey de Lucy, did a useful work by 'restoring the navigation of the Itchen,' and also, in 1202, organized a confraternity for the repairs of the cathedral, which was to work for five years. 'The result,' says Mr. Benham, 'was the present beautiful east end, beginning from the back of the apse, all excepting the Lady chapel, which belongs to the fifteenth century.' He proceeds to exhibit King John in the unexpected character of a church-founder; to be sure it was under the influence of a terrifying dream, which had followed one of his furious outbreaks of passion against monks. The Cistercian abbey then originated is described in the foundation charter as 'the church of S. Mary *de Bello Loco regis* in the New Forest in Southamptons-hire.' Mr. Benham says that 'there are few more "beautiful spots" in England than the site of this ruined abbey, and that John seemed to indemnify himself for many an irreligious deed by lavishing benefits upon Beaulieu.' He had a bad justiciary, and his son Henry III. a bad guardian and minister, in the next bishop, Peter des Roches; but this Poitevin prelate, whom the native prelates blamed for alienating the king from his own people, became a great promoter of religious revival by the introduction of the Preaching Friars into England. They had their first settlement in Winchester. He either founded or enriched other monasteries; he enlarged the church of S. Mary Overy, and he erected at Portsmouth the famous hospital of the 'Domus Dei,' which now, 'admirably restored,' serves as the worthiest of all garrison chapels under the charge of the present highly esteemed Chaplain-general. Bishop William de Raleigh, translated from Norwich against the wish of Henry III., was for months kept out of possession. It must have been a strange Christmas eve for Winchester when her bishop, duly elected and papally confirmed, appeared barefoot at one city-gate after another, to find each fast closed. A few days later he arrived in sterner mood before King's-gate, and concluded a discourse with interdict and

excommunication.¹ Mediæval incongruities are surprising enough: the devout and easy-going Henry III. tried to make the Winchester clergy ignore the interdict,² and forbade the London tradesmen to sell victuals to Bishop Raleigh, 'which was not done,' says Matthew Paris, 'as far as I remember, against blessed Thomas.'³ However, a variety of remonstrances induced the king to make it up with Raleigh, who, three years later, invited him to a Christmastide breakfast. At the next vacancy he determined to have a man of his own. Why not young Aymer⁴ de Valence, his half-brother? What mattered it that he was under the canonical age, and, though a cleric, had had no schooling to speak of? The idea was carried out in one of the most absurd scenes ever witnessed in the precinct of a cathedral:⁵ the king enters the chapter-house, ascends to the 'highest seat,' and, taking as his text the words 'Righteousness and peace have kissed each other,' urges the monks to elect this youth, whose 'high birth would dignify the church of Winchester.' They were thus coerced into asking for a papal dispensation; it was obtained, but Aymer deferred his consecration in order to retain his other preferences. The king soon tired of his whim, and once told Aymer that he repented of having promoted a lad in need of a schoolmaster.⁶ Mr. Benham tells us how this 'lord elect' tyrannized over his monks. Once he shut them up without food for three days. This was in December of 1254, and some of them never recovered from the infliction.⁷ The king himself remonstrated in vain: Aymer, having sent off the objects of his enmity to different monasteries, filled their places with 'scoundrels' as 'illiterate' as himself. But in 1258 the committee of reform appointed by demand of the barony compelled Aymer to leave England, and when, two years later, he was returning from Italy, duly consecrated by the Pope's own hands,⁸ he fell sick at Paris and died, enriching his cathedral with the treasure of his *heart*. The next bishop,

¹ *Ann. de Wint.* a. 1243.

² *Ann. de Waverl.* a. 1243. Compare Dr. Luard's account of this king's character, in Pref. to Matt. Paris, vol. vii. p. xxvii.

³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* Rolls Series, iv. 286.

⁴ Contracted from Ethelmar.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* Rolls Series, v. 180.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 374.

⁷ *Ibid.* v. 468.

⁸ Mr. Benham, indeed, thinks this 'probably untrue,' though he quotes 'one chronicle' as asserting it. It is asserted by the Winton, Oseney, and Dunstable annals, though with some difference as to the day. Bp. Stubbs accepts it, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* p. 44. A figure, which has evidently been mitred, holding a heart in its hand, represents Aymer, just outside the Chapel of the Angels at Winchester.

John 'of Exeter,' was a partisan of the younger Montfort, and when the royal cause triumphed at Evesham, the cathedral and city of Winchester were visited with interdicts, not, as Mr. Benham says, for 'a year and seven months,' but for periods of four days.¹ The monastery of S. Swithun's had become demoralized. Aymer had deposed the Prior William, to whom the Pope, in compensation, granted the use of mitre and staff; and the intruded prior, Andrew of London, was ejected by Bishop John, and Bishop Nicolas 'of Ely' had to excommunicate the monks for abetting his attempt to return.² The soreness between the bishops and the crown was healed, says Mr. Benham, by a compromise in 1282. We may pass over the episcopates of Edward II.'s reign. Under his son, Bishop Edyngdon or Edendon, who had been master of S. Cross, and in whose person the chancellorship of the Garter was annexed to the bishopric, had to see his city desolated by the Black Death. 'The saviours of Southampton at this crisis were the preaching friars; they drained and purified the town, and there are engineering works of theirs remaining still.' Here the brotherhood of Dominic were working in the spirit of the older orders. Edyngdon, whose noble face as represented on his chantry tomb will impress anyone as characteristic, is supposed to have said a good thing about 'Canterbury having the highest rank, but Winchester the deepest manger' (although, says Mr. Benham, he spent the contents of this 'manger' on public and charitable objects); and he *did* two memorable things, for he built the west front of the cathedral, and began to reconstruct the nave, and in conjunction with the governor of the castle he introduced to Edward III. a young man named William of Wykeham.

Our author naturally devotes a whole chapter to 'the greatest of the Bishops of Winchester.' It is needless to follow the series of his civil and ecclesiastical promotions, from the clerkship of the king's works in 1356 to the bishopric of Winchester in 1367. Nor can we dwell on his political troubles caused by the 'bitter spite' of John of Gaunt. His diocesan work included three visitations of religious houses, and a laborious exposure of gross abuses at S. Cross; he 'was obliged to declare,' as Lowth translates from his own language, 'that the ordinances of founders were not observed according to their true intention'; and this conviction, together with his observation of the diminution of the number of the clergy by means of the French war and the pestilence, determined him to establish in his own lifetime

¹ *Ann. de Wint.* a. 1265.

² *Ibid.* a. 1274.

'two colleges of students,' elder and younger, 'for the support and exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences.' We cannot but quote from some verses—(much admired by Mr. Keble)—which Lord Selborne wrote many years ago on the 450th anniversary of Winchester College. Wykeham is represented as saying to Richard II.—

'Grant me that two fair colleges, beneath thy charters sure,
At Oxford and at Winchester for ever may endure,
Which Wykeham's hands shall raise upon the grassy sod,
In the name of Blessed Mary, and for the love of God.'

And as to the result, specially in regard to the younger institution, which was to serve as a nursery for the elder (the charters being dated respectively in 1379 and 1382):—

'Nations, and thrones, and reverend laws, have melted like a dream,
But Wykeham's works are green and fresh beside the crystal stream.'

The remarkable transformation of Walkelin's nave by Wykeham is described by Mr. Benham, under the guidance of Professor Willis, as an 'encasing of the Norman piers with new work.' Mr. James Parker, in a lecture delivered on the spot to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in 1882, observes that 'no one who was not deeply versed in the science of engineering, and a skilled architect, could ever have carried out so gigantic an enterprise.' Bishop Lowth's summary of his works of charity and munificence¹ is quoted at the end of the chapter; and a few words from a fifteenth-century memoir are worth quoting here:—

'In all that he had to do he had God before his eyes. He was a good adviser in doubtful questions, prompt to answer, ready, and affable. Nor was his speech barren or idle, for it was recommended by the agreement between his words and his deeds.'²

A *thorough* man, indeed, was William of Wykeham.

Mr. Benham redresses, as far as he can for his own readers, the grave injustice done in the *Second Part of Henry VI.* to the real story of Cardinal Beaufort's last moments.³ He represents the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, who held the see thirty-nine years, as 'deeply loved by his people.' Chandler says that 'the whole diocese experienced the diligence of their bishop in spiritual matters,' and mentions, among other instances of his benevolence, the emancipation

¹ Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 271.

² *Angl. Sac.* ii. 359.

³ See Lingard, v. 124; Bishop Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* iii. 149.

of 'several of his vassals' from serfdom.¹ We may well believe that an extant epistle dedicatory to Waynflete² is more simply truthful than many of its kind, when it says that his kind-heartedness was matter of universal observation. Fox is described as munificent, generous, diligent in preaching, and duly hospitable. He had a worldly side to his character, and seems to have tried to make amends at Winchester for the negligence of his earlier episcopal life. In the words of the present accomplished Dean of Winchester, 'he gave to the eastern part of the church a dignity and interest which it lacked before'; his devotion to the 'Corpus Christi' is indicated by the emblem of the pelican, so frequently recurring in the choir roof; and his political relation to the officialism of Henry VII.'s reign will hardly be remembered by those who enter his chantry and look into the little recess, whither, it is said, the blind old man used to be led by his chaplain to spend hours in musing and prayer. Gardiner is rather more favourably judged than would have been the case some years ago. The plea which he vainly addressed to the Protector Somerset for 'moderation' in ecclesiastical proceedings is appreciated as 'wise and seasonable,' and the treatment which he met with at those base hands is denounced as 'sheer tyranny.' Yet, in conformity to the popular view, he is called 'the author of the Six Articles Bill'; whereas Mr. Dixon at any rate diminishes his responsibility for that measure,³ and Mr. Oxenham insists that in Mary's reign (although obliged to sit on the trial of Hooper and Rogers) he repeatedly used his influence in behalf of imperilled lives.⁴ He had been fascinated and enthralled, says Mr. Dixon, by the 'stupendous will and fierce temper' of 'the great tyrant.' To him, probably, the dissolution of monasteries (in which, says Mr. Benham, the 'real object of the king was absolutely base') had been no serious stumbling-block. The venerable New Minster had been sacrificed by its Abbot Salcot, one of the creatures of the divorce case, in 'consideration' of the see of Bangor; and Gardiner must have known all about the 'surrender' of the abbey and the destruction of its buildings by Wriothesley in 1538.

But what of the first reformer-bishop? John Poynt—'intruded into the see' after Gardiner's deprivation, on condition of alienating some of its possessions to the Pro-

¹ *Life of Waynflete*, pp. 126, 229.

² *Angl. Sac.* i. 326.

³ Dixon, *Hist. Ch. Engl.* ii. 122.

⁴ Oxenham, *Studies in Eccl. Hist. and Biogr.* p. 158.

tector's brother, Henry Seymour—had the rare accomplishment of Greek learning. Mr. Benham says: 'He was probably the sole author of Cranmer's Catechism;' but the catechism which came chiefly from Poynt's hand was not the catechism of the Prayer-Book of 1549, but one which was published with the Forty-two Articles of 1552.¹ However, he became Bishop of Rochester, when little more than thirty, in 1549, 'and was at Cranmer's right hand during the whole of the religious movement in the first year of King Edward.' Yes; and he seduced a butcher's wife at Nottingham, who, 'being divorced from her husband, was married to Poynt at Croydon,' and afterwards divorced from him. He had 'to pay annual damage to the butcher.' The next Protestant bishop was Horne, 'a fiery Puritan,' who, not content with 'wholesale destruction of . . . stained windows and rich architecture' in his already despoiled cathedral, pulled down the chapter-house, and sold much of the lead from the church roof, 'to indemnify himself, as Dr. Milner believes, for the property of his bishopric, which he had conveyed to the courtiers.' Roman Catholic authority is quoted for the execution of four *lay* Romanists, one being a lad of nineteen, within the diocese, under Elizabeth's Act of 1581. Milner, however, does not say that both Slade and Bodie (or Bodiam) were 'executed at Winchester'; he says that Bodie suffered at Andover.² Two of the victims had their lives offered them if they would but once attend the English service; so that theirs, at any rate, were cases of pure persecution for religion, not of execution for suspected treasonable designs; and the dates are 1583, 1591, and 1593, long after the bull of Pius V. Bishop Bilson is usually honoured as a contributor to the revival of Church principles,³ but Mr. Benham exhibits him as 'undertaking the job—it hardly deserves a better word'—of writing in defence of the Netherlanders' revolt without compromising the queen's domestic authority; a delicate operation, which seems to have had no lasting success, for the book was utilized by the Parliamentarians in the Civil War. Something more might surely have been said about the saintly episcopate of Andrewes; we should hardly have expected a well-read London clergyman like Mr. Benham to forbear quoting from the deeply instructive chapter on his life and work which Dean Church has contributed to the volume entitled *Masters in English Theology*. What

¹ Perry, *Student's Engl. Ch. Hist.* ii. 215.

² Milner, *Hist. Winch.* i. 292.

³ Keble's *Hooker*, i. p. lxix.

Mr. Benham calls an 'unhappy chapter in Bishop Andrewes's life,' his sanction of the divorce of the Earl of Essex, is brought forward by the Dean as matter of surprise and disappointment, and accounted for by his subjection to 'the prejudices and delusions which surrounded the thrones and the persons of the Tudors and the Stuarts . . . the superstitious faith in the divine right of kings.' The 'quaintness' which repels modern readers of Andrewes's sermons is admitted, while their iterations, variations, rapid movements of thought, are emphasized.¹ Stress is laid, of course, on his episcopal administration as 'resisting the tyrannous narrowness of Puritanism, and aiming at greater expansiveness and proportion in doctrine, and dignity and solemnity in worship'; it is significantly added that 'he did not trust to administration and power as Laud did, but rather to preaching; and, further, that 'the key to the influence which Andrewes had in his own day, and which recommended his theology, is to be found in his "Devotions." . . . The reformed English Church has had its martyrs, statesmen, doctors, champions; in Andrewes it had a saint.'

The fifteenth chapter opens with the horrible outrages perpetrated in Winchester Cathedral by Waller's victorious troops in 1642, when 'the Lord's table was carried to an alehouse and burned,' and Puritanism, like Jacobinism, made brutal war on the remains of the royal dead, the bones of kings being used as missiles for smashing 'storied windows which could not be otherwise reached.' Let the visitor to that august cathedral ponder the inscription on one of the mortuary chests which form so striking a feature in the presbytery: 'Hac in cista, A.D. 1661, promiscue recondita sunt ossa principum et praelatorum sacrilega barbarie dispersa A.D. 1642.' Mr. Benham mentions the preservation, by a Parliamentary Wykehamist, of his founder's tomb and college, and the troubles of Bishop Curle in connexion with the siege of Winchester in 1649. Among the chapter documents is a remonstrance in the name of the citizens against a supposed design of destroying 'Trinity Church,' as the cathedral was then called. George Morley, who succeeded the aged Duppa in 1662, was a 'loyal subject, although a Calvinist.' He was, indeed, a faithful Churchman, and obnoxious to the Puritans. His habits were ascetic; his munificence was exhibited in the foundation of a cathedral library to which country clergymen were to have access,

¹ See also *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, second series, p. 172 ff.

and of a college for widows, with 1 Tim. v. 5 engraven over its doorway. He placed Ken in that prebendal house (now destroyed) which was firmly closed against Nell Gwynn. The next prelate, Mews, had fought for Charles I., and, as a bishop, accompanied his son's troops to Sedgemoor; after which, Canon Perry tells us, 'he honourably distinguished himself, after the defeat of the rebels, by endeavouring to arrest the cold-blooded barbarities of Lord Feversham.' This good deed is worth remembering, the rather that Mews was negligent as a bishop. His successor, Trelawney, one of the 'Seven,' was thanked by Atterbury for 'resisting the Erastian policy which was coming into vogue,' but he was harshly intolerant in suppressing the worship of the Roman congregation in Winchester. The episcopal name which looms largest in the diocesan annals of the eighteenth century is that of Hoadly, whom Lowth, in the dedication prefixed to his *Life of Wykeham*, was not ashamed to panegyrize as 'the great advocate of civil and religious liberty,'¹ and who illustrated his own denial of all Church authority and his contempt for 'human benedictions,' or for the claims of 'a particular sort of clergy,' by dipping his hands deeply in the nepotism which, as Mr. Benham expresses it, 'has foully tainted' the history of the see. Of the late bishops, North was unhappily mixed up in the S. Cross scandal, Tomline is described as hard-working, Sumner is praised for piety, kindness, and activity; and the present Archdeacon Sumner's eulogy on Bishop Wilberforce is quoted in a paragraph preceding that which concludes with the hope 'that the Head of the Church has yet much more work and blessing in this world for Bishop Edward Harold Browne.'

The ecclesiastical history of the Channel Islands, which were united to the diocese in 1568, is a subject by itself. Mr. Benham shows how Puritanism established itself in their churches, and how even Andrewes advised that, in a sort of concordat with the ministers, certain observances, such as the cross in baptism and the use of the surplice, should be 'made optional.' It may be added that after the Restoration the revision by Durel of the French version of the Prayer-Book, which had been originally compiled for the Islands in James I.'s time, was deliberately adapted to the Huguenot prejudices there dominant, so that, as 'Sollicitus' wrote in the *Guardian* of December 8, 1875, 'Durel set himself to "cook"

¹ His influence, says Mr. Perry in his earlier *History of the Church of England*, iii. 285, 'established Latitudinarianism in a position of favour, and imperilled the authority of doctrinal standards.'

the new rubrics, rendered "before the table" by "*à la table*," and ignored 'oblations' in the marginal note to the Prayer for the Church Militant. We believe it to be true that the surplice had not been used in Sark before Dr. Pusey's visit to that island.

The Appendix to this 'History' contains much interesting matter as to the Church land at the Conquest, the fate of the monastic properties, the residences of the bishops, and the churches consecrated in the previous century. There is a list not only of the bishops, but also of the priors and deans of Winchester.

ART. VII.—MORALITIES OF SOCIALISM.

1. *Progressive Morality: an Essay in Ethics.* By THOMAS FOWLER, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. (London, 1884.)
2. *Le Danger Social, ou Deux Années de Socialisme en Europe et en Amérique.* Par L'ABBÉ WINTERER, Député d'Alsace-Lorraine au Reichstag. (Paris, 1885.)
3. *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, und Zukunft.* Von AUGUST BEBEL. (Hottingen-Zürich, 1884.)
4. *Socialism as a Moral Movement: a Short Consideration of its Value and its Dangers.* By DUDLEY T. MEDLEY, B.A., Keble College, Oxford. (Oxford and London, 1884.)
5. *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other.* By WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. (London, 1884.)

It is now ten years ago since Bishop Martensen published his brochure on *Socialism and Christianity: a Fragment of Special Ethics*, the purport of which was to show that Socialism is not only a revolutionary movement of the utmost significance in its political and economic aspects, but also a social phenomenon, interesting both to the Christian moralist and philanthropist, and in its appeals to the moral consciousness of society well calculated to awaken their deepest sympathies. Since then it has become generally recognized that what nowadays is called the Social problem resolves itself into a question of ethics, and for the simple reason that it cannot be solved without reference to man's moral nature. There is, therefore,

nothing incongruous in the idea of Socialism, considered as a moral movement; at all events there is a moral standpoint from which all schemes of social improvement, even the wildest among them, may be viewed; and the inquiry is not without its advantages as to what may be the Socialist's 'mens sibi conscia recti,' as we hope to show more fully in the sequel.

In these days, when political economy begins to be regarded as a branch of moral science, and the 'Ethics of Economics' receive their full share of public opinion, the moral aspects of Socialism, considered as a protest against the evil consequences of the present economic system, and as an attempt of social reconstruction to satisfy larger demands of distributive justice, cannot fail to attract attention, more especially among the teachers of religion, whose function, as keepers of the public conscience, it is to stimulate moral emotions and to correct moral judgments. The accredited guardians of the *Regula fidei* will naturally relegate all such questions of social ethics to those 'positive institutions' which, Bishop Butler tells us, 'are means to a moral end.' Moreover, there are certain immoralities of Socialism, such, *e.g.*, as its cynical materialism in theory and its unscrupulous adaptation of means to an end in practice, its threatened invasion of the rights of private ownership or corporate property, its professed disregard of the sacredness of the marriage bond and other interferences with the institution of the family, especially in the communal forms of educating the young, all of which, taken together with a categorical denial of the religious sanctions of morality, are utterly at variance with the claims of Christianity and the Church, and therefore call for serious remonstrance and reproof.

In the recently published Life and letters of George Eliot we are told of the shock experienced by that eminent author when reading for the first time in her life, and at a very tender age, a passage in *Devereux*, which told her 'that religion was not a requisite to moral excellence.' The rank and file of Socialists are being indoctrinated with this idea in almost every print that is placed in their hand; we may guess what the effects are likely to be on the untutored understandings of the masses if we recollect how susceptible are even cultured minds to views of this kind in our own day, when the paramount virtue of religion as a moral lever and a moral restraint is denied by many believers in the 'Creed of Science.'

Nor is it enough amid the fluctuations of moral sentiment

and the variations of moral dogma to put implicit confidence in the 'workaday ethics of the English people.' Blind confidence in 'the unchanging necessity of things' under the unsettling influences of scepticism preceded an utter dislocation of the moral framework of society shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution a century ago. Then, as now, it was accompanied by a natural revival in philosophy with the enthusiastic proclamation of a new social gospel.

Public opinion requires to be educated on this subject, were it for no other reasons but for the purpose of dissipating revolutionary views of morality and refuting some of the 'immoral doctrines of morality' which are fast gaining currency among Socialists and their sympathizers. Even the apostles of social anarchy have their 'collective code of morality,' and Socialists, as a body, emphasize the fundamental difference of their new morality as compared with the old, accusing the religious world of retrogressive tendencies which cannot be reconciled with the moral principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, contained in the ideas of Christianity.

We propose, in the first place, to consider the moral conceptions of Socialism, and to show how far these principles of 'progressive morality' are influenced by the ideas of natural evolution, and the modern tendency to 'naturalize the moral man.'

In the second place, we shall discuss the demoralizing effects of some Socialist theories as well as the methods adopted for their realization.

Last of all, we may deduce some obvious duties of the Church to counteract the baneful influences of false moral ideals, to correct immoral tendencies, and to raise the moral tone of society, and so help in removing every obstacle to the moral and material improvement of the people.

'Le Socialisme est la conséquence du matérialisme, et le matérialisme est le dernier mot de la négation religieuse,' exclaims the Abbé Winterer in his last contribution to the history of contemporary Socialism. But this is one of those cases of mistaking consequent for antecedent often to be met with in warm discussions. Materialism, doubtless, is conducive to the spread of socialistic discontent in persons who have denied the faith, but still oftener such persons abjure their early creeds because their hearts have become embittered against all existing social institutions, whilst materialistic views of life are only an after thought. 'Man is what he eats' ('Was der Mensch *isst*, das *ist* er') is a coarse way of expressing with verbal nicety the materialistic creed thus

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acquired. But men exposed to many privations in a self-indulgent age are not apt to hunger and thirst after righteousness above their fellows. Materialistic views of life are by no means peculiar to Socialists. Such doctrines are preached from the housetops by their strongest opponents, the political economists. To take a modern instance: M. G. de Molinari in a late number of the *Journal des Economistes* tells us positively that the laws of political economy, like those of chemistry, are *immutable*; that the production and distribution of wealth organize themselves by virtue of *natural laws*—‘Notre évangile se résume en ces quatre mots: *Laisser faire, Laisser passer.*’

But, says the Socialist, ‘Nature is neither moral nor intelligent.’

‘Just so,’ replies another professor of the same school of abstract political economy from the other side of the Atlantic; ‘there is no injunction, *no ought*, in political economy. A Sociologist who should attach moral applications and practical maxims to his investigations would entirely miss his proper business.’

The Socialist takes him by his word, and says in return:

‘We have admitted that our will itself is determined by natural laws . . . we have acquired a more profound knowledge of the laws which govern social phenomena. We know that as our human nature is essentially capable of modification and perfection, so social phenomena and industrial phenomena, being based thereon, are modifiable in large degree, and we labour to modify them as much as possible’—

that is, by means of such modifications which seriously affect the structure of society; in other words, social revolutions.

Again, the moral philosopher of the day, who is also a warm defender of the purely individualistic theory of Society, shows how the same laws of heredity and adaptation, which govern the phenomena of the physical world, prevail likewise in the region of social biology and moral evolution. Socialism readily accepts this ‘conception of man, as in his moral attributes a subject of natural science.’ And more than this. Having embraced a purely mechanical view of the universe, it not only rejects the belief in a superintending Deity, but proceeds also to heap ridicule on ‘the absurdities’ of idealism in every shape and form. Thus Lafargue, son-in-law to Karl Marx, in a series of lectures delivered in the ‘Cercle de la Bibliothèque Socialiste,’ in Paris, holds up to universal contempt all ideas transcending the realities of existence, and the persons who were foolish enough to entertain them, whether

they worship one God, or a plurality of immortal ideas, such as justice, liberty, or brotherly love.'

The representatives of modern science, in their eagerness to disown any connexion between such brutal confessions of materialistic Socialism and the Darwinistic theory, take pains to show that the doctrines of selection and the survival of the fittest encourage the perpetuation of inequality, and therefore are opposed to levelling—that, in fact, they favour the superior privilege of minorities, and thus are essentially aristocratic, not democratic, in their tendencies. This is notably done by Hæckel in the same pamphlet in which the principles of modern ethics are derived from the social instincts of the higher animals. The Socialist accepts the 'ethics of science' for what they are worth. But he reminds the world that there are shorter cuts than the evolutionary process and the slow social development it implies, and that by means of physical force—*i.e.* one of the forces of nature—when applied to society, great changes may be effected in less time. He shows how, according to the natural law of morphology in all things, the death of one form of society simply means its survival in another form, superior to that which it has rudely pushed aside in the struggle for existence.

Lastly, the ethical materialist, who has raised egoism into a dogma, and in the selfish pursuit of personal happiness in each social unit anticipates the final establishment of a harmony of interests, is confronted by the Socialist with the counter-statement that, on the contrary, egoism is the last root of all evils, and its eradication the condition of morally organizing mankind.

Here we see how much of what is materialistic in the tendencies of Socialism must be in a great measure attributed to the influence of modern phases of thought in the world of science and philosophy.¹ Every economic theory may be

¹ 'The evolution of society,' says Mr. Fowler in his work on *Progressive Morality* (pp. 115-16), 'seems to be attended by the progress of morality, and especially the amelioration of social relations in the tendency of society at large to modify and re-adjust its conduct in conformity with fuller and more improved conceptions of well-being, which are themselves suggested by a growing experience, reinforced, especially in the later stages of civilization, by the consciously reflective actions of philosophers and reformers.'

It would be interesting to follow out the idea, which we can only hint at in a note, how far the moralities of Socialism of the present day may be regarded as the symptom of ethical degeneration rather than the sign of moral development; whether or not they indicate a temporary or permanent physiological disorder in the social organism; in short, whether we have to do here with a malformation rather than a transformation of

traced to the prevailing moral and material influences of the times. So, too, Socialism in its higher moral claims only gives expression, though in an exaggerated manner, to truths which are forcing their way to the surface among thinking people; and thus it happens that whilst emphatically rejecting the 'metaphysic of morals' and preferring to follow a moral law 'enforced by purely natural sanctions,' Socialists none the less take high moral ground in judging of social institutions and giving expression to their ideals of social duty.

This may be illustrated by the influence of pessimism and optimism, as current modes of thought, on the moralities of Socialism considered as a philosophy of life. We hear much nowadays of the 'Ethics of Despair,' and in its critical analysis of the capitalistic world, which of course is the worst world possible in the opinion of Socialism, the latter adopts the language of pessimism as expressing its own melancholy views of social life. This is the negative side of Socialism. But, on the other hand, an 'immeasurable optimism in ethics' serves as the foundation of constructive Socialism in its synthetical aims. In the conception and expression of both these apparently irreconcilable views of life the moral tone of Socialism is pitched in a very high key—in fact, a trifle too high—the alto merging into falsetto—at times. Here we have sad musings on this worst of worlds with its dull monotony of labour and the hopelessness of improving the condition of the working classes, with broodings over the pitiless laws of the 'dismal science' leading to but one result, the dreary outlook presented in the pessimistic formula, 'The world's salvation is the world's destruction.' But by the side of gloomy views of this kind we meet with appeals to compassionate earnestness in the effort to remove the causes of the evils complained of; mournings over the world's sorrow are accompanied by exhortations to resignation and resolve, to energy and endurance, in which we cannot

contemporary ethics. If 'the conduct of men and the sentiments of men on conduct vary with their conceptions of well-being, and their conceptions of well-being are determined by reflection and experience' (*Ibid.* p. 109); if, moreover, 'the conception of social well-being must be more or less vague because we are constantly filling it up by experience, it is not a fixed, but a growing, conception' (*Ibid.* p. 141); then it becomes a serious question whether the growing complexity of rules with the progress of civilization, the wide field thus left open for moral casuistry and the danger of lowering 'the reverential regard for the authority of moral law,' must not be regarded with apprehension rather than with feelings of hope. This is a subject for the consideration of a symposium of ethical scholars representing various schools, specially those of the authoritative and developmental theories of moral philosophy.

help recognizing the reflection of that revival of stoicism, with the rejection of positive beliefs, which is one of the prominent philosophical phenomena of the age. Self-renunciation is held up as a duty and as the only remedy of social evils. Since all suffer together, it is only by a united effort of humanity that sorrow and suffering can be overcome. Let all fight together manfully, though each combatant by himself be forbidden to indulge the illusion of attaining personal happiness.

'We demand,' says one of the heroes in a well-known Nihilist novel, 'that all shall be able to participate in the enjoyments of life; and we must prove by our example that we do not ask this for ourselves to gratify individual desires, but for man in general; that we say so not in passion, but in principle: from inner conviction, not for personal advantage.'

Who can help being reminded here of Browning's fine lines in *Paracelsus*?—

'Even now, why not desire, for mankind's sake,
That if I fail, some fault may be the cause,
That though I sink another may succeed?'¹

No less dignified than this noble form of Altruism as the outcome of pessimistic views of social life is the optimistic assurance of the Socialist in his attempt to bring about the 'moral regeneration of society.' As pessimistic reflections do not, as a rule, degenerate into quiescent cynicism, sardonic misanthropy, or those 'rose-water imbecilities' which are peculiar to less robust constitutions indulging in the luxury of grief afforded by a lachrymose philosophy, so the optimism of the modern Socialist is more practical than that of his visionary predecessors in the last half century. His is a *fides formata*, not a faith without works. He is up and doing in what he hopes to bring about, viz.:—

'The ultimate perfectibility of man in a social state, which is the only social panacea of our social evils Socialism nobly attempts, not like Positivism, to educate the good and convert the wicked, but to establish such an arrangement of the social relations of mankind so as to prevent in the outset the tragical catastrophes which cause the pain and the misery of this life' (*To-day*, vol. ii. No. 11, pp. 466-67).

In expressions like the foregoing we cannot help tracing the unconscious influences of Christian ideals and the principles of Christian self-denial where the writers would be

¹ Cf. Edith Simcox, *Natural Law: an Essay in Ethics*, pp. 126, 196.

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most unwilling to own their obligations. As in the case of Lamennais and Junqua, originally priests in the Church of Rome, or Domela Nieuwenhuis, formerly a minister of the Dutch Church, who became afterwards Socialists and Secularists (not to mention some well-known names among ourselves of clergymen who have surrendered their orders on conscientious grounds, and since then have become enthusiastic advocates of social reform, but in doing so have retained much of their religious fervour whilst throwing off their religious professions); so the high-minded Socialist of the present day, whilst discarding the faith of Christ, carries about with him nevertheless the Christian ideal. Hence, what is best in the moralities of Socialism is really the fruit of Christian teaching, though it is found lying at times at a great distance from the tree. Bearing this in mind, we may now note some of the specific charges of Socialism which have provoked and are provoking its feelings of moral indignation, together with some of its proposals for moral adjustment and the ethical discussions they give rise to.

To enumerate and dilate on all the facts and fancies coming under this head, as well as the fallacies of deductive reasoning founded upon them, would require volumes. Only a few typical cases can be selected, and from them our readers must form their own conclusions.

One of the most common complaints is that of 'moral atrophy,' produced by long hours of labour (we omit a number of similars forming a group of grievances by itself, such as the immoral effects of the mixture of sexes in factories, the degrading influences of unhealthy dwelling-houses, and the increase of crime attributed to the uncertainty of employment owing to the conjuncture of trade and speculation). Complaining of the long hours of labour in factories, Benoît Malon, in *Le Nouvel Parti* (vol. i. p. 88) writes thus:—

'L'exténuation a pour conséquence l'atrophie morale; elle prépare les générations d'esclaves. Il faut, en effet, être exceptionnellement trempé pour résister, sans rien perdre de son énergie, à des journées de douze à seize heures de travail. Les ouvriers ainsi exténués n'ont plus la force morale nécessaire pour travailler collectivement à l'amélioration de leur destinée; l'extrême fatigue du corps étouffe leur pensée.'

No one can deny the important bearings of this question on the mental as well as the moral development of those engaged in the centres of industry. But when we are told by the same author in the very next page what use the labourer is to make of his additional hours of leisure:—

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‘L’ouvrier ayant un peu de loisir pour penser, réfléchit sur la situation ; il voit qu’il est durement commandé, indignement exploité ; il cherche avec ses camarades les moyens d’améliorer sa condition : il devient Socialiste. . . . La diminution des heures de travail est le moyen le plus sûr de révolutionner la classe ouvrière, c’est à dire de la ranger sous le drapeau Socialiste.’

We find that here we have one of those false notes in the moral tone of Socialism which obviously create strong suspicions as to the general sincerity of its moral indignation against social wrongs, and as to the genuineness of its proposals for social reform : suspicions which naturally withdraw from it the moral sympathies of those who possess both the power and the will to improve the position of the wage-earning classes.

However, the question as to the moral effects of long hours of labour and the like form only part of the general question as to how to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth, *l’égalité morale*, and how to remove the crying wrong implied in the phrase, ‘The rich are rich because the poor are industrious.’ It is not in the fitness of things, according to the moralities of Socialism, that an idle class should live in luxury and indulgence, whilst large multitudes are condemned to lifelong toil. Only in a few exceptional cases, mental and moral merit, or demerit, it is said, are the cause of these differences, and this is inexcusable on any principles of equity.

‘The very idea of distributive justice, or any proportionality between success and merit, or between success and exertion, is in the present state of society so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the region of romance.’

Such are the words of J. S. Mill in ‘Chapters on Socialism,’ published after his death in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1879.

Poverty itself, in the opinion of the modern Socialist, is an injustice, and pauper laws, iniquitous in their origin and impotent in their application, are nothing else but the acknowledgment of the injustice here complained of. It is the faulty state of society which deprives the labouring poor of the only means of earning a livelihood ; whilst starvation cases in a highly civilized community are not only an anachronism, but their occurrence is an unpardonable sin in a ‘moralized State.’ Private benevolence or delegated charity by means of public institutions is nothing else but the conscious introduction of safety-valves in the mechanism of society to prevent insurrectionary explosions—making virtue of necessity. Spurning such doles of public benevolence, the Socialist exclaims :—

'As the individual must be just before he can be truly generous, so must human society be based upon justice before it can be based on benevolence.'¹

'Break your bread to the hungry,' says a German Socialist² on this point, 'help the needy in their distress, especially where it is undeserved; but in so doing do not neglect the more important duty to organize the State and society in such a manner that everyone may find his place, so as to enable him to produce honest and useful work and to secure for himself, with the aid of thorough education, a dignified human existence as the result of his labours: this is the only remedy against pauperism.'

But, it is said, the best answer to such and similar 'vague schemes of sophistical Socialism' is the fact that our people 'are possessed almost to a man of a *passion for accumulation*.' It is forgotten that the inordinate desire for possession, as a means of satisfying the cravings of insatiable luxury among the rich, at the same time excites the envy of the poor, who are too much out of tune with the 'progress of the age' to join in its hymn of praise '*aurea nunc sunt sæcula*,' &c. The real danger of modern society exists in this ever-widening gulf between those who live in abundance and those who are in want; the passion for accumulation widens it more and more, and, as the Comte de Breda puts it in a few incisive words, '*la soif de l'or engendra la soif du sang*.'

The social reformer, putting little faith in the artificial methods of equalizing wealth, remembering the demoralizing effects of a sudden rise of wages among labourers, and the vices bred by fortunes made in a day, admits, indeed, the necessity of 'moralizing wealth,' as well as the truth that 'industry must be moralized.' He will do what he can to stay the further spread of immoralities arising from material misery. He will encourage every effort to raise the standard of life, fostering at the same time a growing appreciation of higher enjoyments. But all this implies moral attainments which make human beings comparatively independent of corporeal conditions. The socialist Bebel, on the contrary, maintains:—

'To grant to all equality in the conditions of existence, to secure a life of human dignity for each, is the most *morally* disinterested and noble measure that could be adopted by society.'

However, the most pointed shafts of socialistic criticism are directed against the immoral tendencies of the universal system of competition, as such, apart from particular cases of

¹ H. George, *Social Problems*, p. 115.

² Frohme, *Die Entwicklung der Eigenthumsverhältnisse*, p. 130.

social injustice and the generally imperfect social arrangements resulting from it. Competition is charged as morally responsible for every social wrong. Others, whose duty it is to guard zealously the moral health of the community, may speak with toleration and even approval of this 'bloodless and not ignoble war of production and exchange.' The Socialist has no words strong enough to express his disapprobation and loathing of this 'natural' process of production and exchange. Calling forth, as it does, the sordid passions, such as envy and covetousness, it beguiles man into mean and monstrous acts of trade dishonesty under the mask of free contract and fair play.

'Socialists consider this system of private war (as it may be termed) between everyone and everyone especially fatal in an economical point of view, and in a *moral*. Morally considered, its evils are obvious. It is the parent of envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness, it makes everyone the natural enemy of all others who cross his path, and everyone's path is constantly liable to be crossed. Under the present system, hardly anyone can gain except by the loss and disappointment of one or many others. In a well-constituted community, everyone would be a gainer by every other person's successful exertions; while now we gain by each other's loss and lose by each other's gain. . . . In its purely economic operations, the principle of individual competition receives as unqualified condemnation from the social reformers as in its moral.'

'Wealth increases, and greater prizes seem to be within reach more and more; a gambling spirit is introduced into commerce; and when this prevails, not only are the simplest maxims of prudence disregarded, but all, even the most perilous, forms of pecuniary improbity receive a terrible stimulus. This is the meaning of what is called the intensity of modern competition. . . . The frauds begun by a few become customs of trade, and the morality of the trading classes is more and more deteriorated.'

Such a state of things, it is urged, does not deserve the name of social organization, and cannot be defended on ethical principles: it is anarchy, a war of individuals and classes, where the strongest or most cunning prevail, and where in every hundred human beings the ninety and nine are debased and enslaved for the benefit of the one, on the principle '*Homo homini lupus*.'

A society having for its guiding principle self-interest is engaged in a process of gradual self-destruction; the moral bonds which link together man to man in the association of

¹ J. S. Mill, 'Chapters in Socialism,' *Fortnightly Review*, No. cxlvi. and cxlvii. pp. 227-28, 377. Comp. Syme, *Outlines of Industrial Science*, p. 60 and *passim*.

equals, and still more so in the mutual relations of unequals, whose interests clash, are thereby loosened, and this must sooner or later lead to the dissolution of the social organism. This view of the case was put very plainly before the French Parliamentary Committee appointed last year to consider the present economic crisis, by Senator Tolain.

'Les rapports entre l'ouvrier et le patron sont modifiés depuis le développement de la grande industrie et la création des grandes compagnies anonymes. La solidarité morale d'autrefois va s'atténuant; l'ouvrier, suivant l'exemple qu'on lui donne, prend pour guide unique son intérêt.'

Thus social disintegration is the consequence of a false economic theory which starts from the supposition that the common welfare is tantamount to the sum and substance of individual successes, irrespective of their ethical bearings, not only as far as the winners, but also the losers, are concerned in this game of chance, called 'making a fortune.'

It must be owned that in this respect a higher moral instinct guides the Socialist in his vindication of the great principle of co-operative association as the only valid 'law of moral life and movement in the social world.'

'Les rapports humains, comme les rapports cosmiques,' says the socialist Fauvety, 'sont compris dans l'universelle solidarité, et le dynamisme conscient et voulu des êtres libres et raisonnables concourt à la suprême harmonie, non moins que le mécanisme condensé des sphères célestes ou la circulation incessante des forces physiques et chimiques au sein des organismes vivants.'

Principles must be judged by results, and experiment is the final test of every theory. The scientific test is not always easy in arriving at sociological truths, since vivisection of social organisms is a form of experimentation happily as yet beyond the necessity of restrictive legislation. However, in the case before us we know the effects of at least one of the theories in question—viz. the theory which makes competition and conflict, as opposed to concert and co-operation, the predominating principle of industrial life. Everything, says a rigid adherent of this theory, must be left to the 'natural' or 'physical' laws which regulate the market; between them and the laws of morality which regulate man's conduct in other respects there is no connexion whatever. 'Economic transactions, as such, are *morally indifferent*, they are neither moral nor immoral;' and what follows? 'To use a strong expression, the fundamental form of all economic efforts, even in the highest state of culture, resembles the relative actions of two famishing individuals fighting over the same piece of bread.'

The rival theory has not had the advantage of experiment on a large scale; but we are assured by one of its ablest advocates that such conditions as those acknowledged above with a coolness of scientific composure which leaves nothing to be desired, whatever may be thought of the moral susceptibilities of the author, would entirely disappear in a 'socialized state.' 'At present,' says Bebel in the work we have placed at the head of this article, 'personal advantage and the common weal are opposed to each other; in the new society this antagonism would disappear, personal egoism and the common welfare are harmonized and are a complement to each other.'

By the representative of the first theory we have an unpleasant fact stated in the most repelling manner; by the second we have a promise given, but a promise only, more easily made than performed. Any mechanical changes in the organization of society, where the ethical status of the social units remains the same, could not reconcile the selfish with the non-self-regarding tendencies in human nature. Egoism, left to itself, without ethical safeguards, may secure the full display of personal liberty and material progress, but expansion in this instance is secured at the expense of moral cohesion. On the other hand, the organization of labour by the action of the State, as the *ethos*, or collective conscience of the community (and for State we may substitute the commune, or trade corporation, or co-operative syndicate, as the nucleus of a new social crystallization, since all these combine the advantages of centralized authority with industrial association), in one form or another hampers the freedom of individual action, and may eventually degenerate into what Herbert Spencer calls the 'slavery of organization.' Hence the great difficulty of harmonizing private and public, individual and common, interests.

There is one course left open to us, to choose the safe middle-path between the two extremes of Individualism and Socialism, which has been indicated in the most recent work on political economy in this country, and which insists on 'the moral need of some means of developing in the members of a modern industrial community a fuller consciousness of their industrial work as a social function only rightly performed when done with a cordial regard to the welfare of the whole society.'¹

It would be strange if the author of 'The Methods of Ethics' had omitted in his principles of political economy to draw attention to this connexion between the science of economics and 'private morality.' But what is required over and

¹ Henry Sidgwick, *The Principles of Political Economy*, p. 589.

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above this tardy recognition of some moral aspects of the science is a powerful motive to translate the emotions of 'moral sense' into social action. This motive force is to be found in religion—a religion which in its organized form may serve as the type of social union, and whose representatives may be regarded as the spiritual directors of the nation. The State uses external force for the re-adjustment of rights and the regulation of conduct between individuals and classes, whose reciprocal duties and rights are in danger of being violated. The Church, though a visible institution, works from within, by persuasion, not compulsion, in order to moralize society. Not that religion is to be administered as 'a pill to cure social earthquakes.' What is meant here is the application of the principles of the Gospel to social requirements on 'those moral grounds of righteousness, self-sacrifice, mutual affection, common brotherhood, which Christianity has vindicated to itself for an everlasting heritage.'

We now pass on to a brief consideration of the immoralities of Socialism, consisting partly in the demoralizing tendencies of its theories, partly in the form of their propagation and practical application.

To begin with, there is something radically mischievous in the leading idea of Socialism, which holds society, and not the individuals of which it is composed, responsible for all the evils complained of in the social system. To make social institutions responsible for crimes and misfortunes which are the accompaniments of social progress, instead of tracing them to the imperfections and vices of individuals, is to sap the foundation of morality. Yet this is done by eminent Socialists past and present. Thus, *e.g.*, Louis Blanc in his *Organisation du Travail* (p. 179) says:—

'On accuse de presque tous nos maux la conception de la nature humaine; il faudrait en accuser le vice des institutions sociales. Regardez autour de vous: que d'aptitudes déplacées, et par conséquence dépravées! Que d'activités devenues turbulentes, faute d'avoir trouvé leur but légitime et naturel. On force nos passions à traverser un milieu impur, elles s'y attirent; qu'y a-t-il de surprenant à cela? Qu'on place un homme sain dans une atmosphère empestée, il y respirera la mort.'

Still more emphatically says one of the most distinguished of contemporary Socialists, 'Man is what society has made him;' and another, 'What is designated as the act of human "free will," is nothing else but the result of the *most powerful motives*, determined by external conditions.'

The danger of such opinions lies in the partial truth they

contain ; their fatal error is in their incompleteness rather than in their utter fallacy. Many evils, no doubt, are attributable to man's environment, and not a few are chargeable to economic maladjustments. But, in enlarging on them, Socialists ignore entirely the force of moral energy in opposition to the powers which drag men downwards, as well as the virtue of moral effort which potentially exists in human beings to resist temptation. It is man's fault and not his misfortune to yield feebly to immoral tendencies, or to allow, from culpable lethargy and inaction, the force of circumstances to triumph over the force of will. Such volitional delinquencies are natural enough, but natural imperfections may be corrected by moral discipline, and the penalties of men in societies for disregarding the law of compensation in the conservation of moral forces is social extinction.

This kind of moral *laissez-faire, laissez-passer* is worse than the principle generally understood by this phrase when referred to Governmental inaction. For to appeal to the regulating functions of the community whilst denying personal responsibility in the citizens, each by himself, amounts to the same absurdity as to expect great things from the collective wisdom of the total number of madmen in a lunatic asylum.

Every appeal to the public conscience of the nation implies some belief in the claims of private conscience ; human agents without ethical responsibility, when taken separately, do not become moral in the aggregate.

The absurdity of this position, however, finds, to some extent, its explanation in the peculiar tactics of Socialism. It demands the rectification of human affairs by the State, considered in the light of a self-regulating machine, whilst the self-regulating principle in the individual man is supposed in abeyance, for reasons not quite in keeping with the requirements of moral candour. The State is invoked to punish the malefactors of society—malefactors, that is, in the language of Socialism, and from an economic point of view ; to magnify the office of the State in this fashion is to strike a blow at capitalism. When the legal execution has finally taken place, the executioner may be dismissed. When the State has abolished capitalism, the people will take matters into their own hands. In the same way social institutions are held responsible for the wrongs which exist in society, because this is the most powerful way of weakening the foundations on which society reposes ; hence the attacks on the laws of property and calls on the State to place its sentinels at the three principal entrances of the treasure-house of national wealth—Rent, Interest, and Profit.

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Thus from the Socialist standpoint, 'the ethical aspect of the land question' and its solution may be put in one sentence: Rent is robbery, therefore confiscate the land for the good of the people. So, too, to preserve the morality of interest, State regulation of the credit system is indispensable. Profit is beyond the pale of morality altogether; it is outlawed, because the accumulation of profit is nothing else but the absorption of other men's labour by the employer. Such forms of 'exploitation' would be impossible, argues the Socialist, but for the existence of legal rights and liberties which make the unjust acquisition of property possible. Therefore what the State has given the State can take away. It has sanctioned fraud in permitting social prerogatives and class privileges, surviving in a modified form in the monopoly of land and capital possessed by a small minority. Therefore, legislation in conformity with moral law should rescind the laws which thus favour the iniquity of the existing partition. All this amounts simply to making use of the political power for attacking society in its most formidable strongholds.

To put the matter still more plainly. Economists (Archbishop Whately among the rest) have described man 'as an animal that makes exchanges'; and Socialists accept the definition and amplify it after this manner—viz. that the animals are beasts of prey, and others are their victims; that in the process of exchanging equivalents in wages for value received in work, the predatory class of capitalist-employers abstract a larger portion of the wealth produced. But, then, man is also a *ζῷον πολιτικόν*. He can make use of his political powers by an appeal to State interference, so as to put an end to

'the shameless greed of some individuals in the fierce war of commercial competition by preventing them from taking advantage of the weaker, the poorer, the more unfortunate, the unsuccessful, the scrupulous, and those who work hard but have not the craft to utilize their labour for their own material benefit.'

There is a close connexion between the institution of property and that of the family. Accordingly, Socialism directs its attacks with equal vehemence against the latter as against the former, since these two are the main props of the social order it is bent on subverting. As the sacredness of the first is denied, so the desecration of the second is regarded without compunction. Nothing can be more contemptuous than the tone adopted in socialistic writings when treating on the subject of 'la famille autoritaire,' or the institution of the family, as resting on Divine authority. The

indissoluble nature of the marriage bond itself is denounced as a degrading union maintained by compulsion, although morally non-existent when the affections have been gradually alienated; or when, perhaps, disappointment, if not dislike, have taken the place of former love. Frequent violations of the domestic sanctities in 'high life' are quoted as the natural consequences of this state of things; whilst among the people in 'low life,' women and their offspring, it is said, are beginning to be regarded solely from the wage-earning point of view. Socialists sneer at the manner in which sexual irregularities are visited by society with its 'satiated virtue' and its 'solvent morality,' whilst the cunning and calculating spirit in which marriages in all ranks of society are contracted pass as a matter of course. Here, too, social sins are condoned for on the plea that they have for their causes bad social laws, which legalize children born in wedlock, but at the same time legalize a new form of slave-trade and infanticide; since it is a notorious fact that a vast number of proletarian children become factory helots, and a still larger number of infants die of starvation or neglect, on account of the employment of mothers away from the home. From Bebel's recent work on woman it would seem that the only remedy for such evils is the entire abolition of the marriage institution, whilst in the following passages we have an illustration of those immoral forms of morality to which we alluded at the commencement of this paper.

'We Socialists demand a new moral state of things in place of this kind of traffic in human flesh; we demand that mutual attachment and moral esteem shall be the sole bond of union between man and woman, and that all children shall participate in the natural right of a good education, not only those who are the legitimate children of rich families.'

'The bond of union between the sexes can only be moral, and can be dissolved when the characters do not harmonize. This would be, at all events, more consonant with the principles of ethics than the peace of households broken, which is one of the most common occurrences in the present-day.'

Last in the catalogue of the immoralities of Socialism come its methods in the propagation of the views which we have already touched upon. These methods are either downright employment of force, or crafty devices scarcely excusable on moral grounds.

Force is resorted to in the recently organized 'dynamite campaign,' which, it is only fair to say, is disapproved of and discountenanced by the moderate and by far the most numer-

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ous section of Socialists. This requires no further comment : it stands self-condemned morally. But no less reprehensible from an ethical point of view is the practice of concealing real intentions under false names ; and yet we meet with the unblushing avowals concerning the tactics adopted in electoral campaigns, and in the modes of participating in Parliamentary debates where matters of social legislation are concerned, which leave no doubt as to the ultimate object in view—namely, that of secretly paving the way for a social revolution whilst overtly engaged in the cause of social reforms. The final goal is a social *bouleversement*, and the means adopted for bringing it about are, sowing the seeds of discord in electioneering speeches and keeping up the cry of social grievances in legislative assemblies. The immorality of opportunism, in short, consists in pushing on its forces for an impending social war whilst professedly holding a parley to arrange the preliminaries of peace, and in dishonestly masking intended attacks by conciliatory advances.

'Force,' said Reinsdorf, at the trial of the German dynamitards at Leipzig, last December, 'has been used to protect the wealthier sections of society against the working classes. It is but natural that the latter should use force in return to secure their own interests. . . . The means justify the end.' This, at least, has the merit of plain speaking.

'*Political hypocrisy* has become the law of self-preservation for us social democrats,' is the confession of the organ of the moderate party.

Both the advocates of anarchy and the organizers of political agitation aim at the same thing—*i.e.* to intensify the antagonism of classes ; their object is not harmonious and homogeneous development by moral means, but social integration and a final appeal to mechanical force—a destructive social war between rich and poor.

Here we pause. We have considered both the moralities and the immoralities of Socialism—its philosophical views of life, reflecting current phases of thought, and in its nobler aspects exhibiting a high-minded energy and endurance, resignation and resolve, which reflect the spirit of Christian ethics. We have also glanced at some particular charges of social wrongs, the general process of industry, of which they form a part, and the universal principles underlying it. Under the head of immoralities, we have noted a fatal leaning towards moral Antinomianism accompanied by a denial of the sacredness of those human institutions on which society is founded, and a choice of means for compassing these ends, which amount

to a systematic design of destroying the social fabric. The result of our inquiry is the melancholy conviction that some of the adverse criticisms of imperfections in the present social system are founded on fact, specially when viewed from the highest moral standpoint. But we have seen at the same time a still greater incompleteness in the moral equipment of the critics, and their incapacity for the task of social reconstruction on a moral basis. This leads to the further question, What is to be done to remove the imperfections in the actual condition of things, and to raise the moral standard among all ranks of society? 'When the foundations are cast down, what must the righteous do?' When the principles of morality on which society rests are being unsettled, what is the duty of Churchmen at this crisis?

Christianity in its original intention, according to Bishop Butler, was a republication of the moral law. So it must be the first duty of the Church now to reaffirm authoritatively the importance of the ethical element in the organization of industry, to re-enforce by means of moral education the relative duties of those engaged in it, and to infuse a new spirit of moral energy and enthusiasm in the pursuit of the highest social ideal. In short, the universal remedy in the present unhealthy condition of the social organism consists in the moral hygiene prescribed, and the healing power contained in the religion of the world's Redeemer, who came to save, and not to destroy; whilst the surgical operations of Socialism, intended to remove moral deformities by 'heroic remedies,' would be more likely to kill than to cure the patient.

With a few remarks on these duties of the Church, we may bring the present paper to a close.

First, as to the application of ethics to 'business principles.' 'The wealth power has been developed, while the moral and social sanctions by which that power ought to be controlled have not yet been developed,' says Professor Sumner. To this retarded development of the moral consciousness in a highly advanced trading community must be attributed the excessive severity of the competition struggle, which is sometimes termed a system of commercial cannibalism, because of the apparent absence of all moral restraints—a state of things utterly at variance with the constant boasts of our 'modern civilization.' Here, then, we see the need of the meliorating and mollifying influences of the *Mores Catholici*, and the humanizing influences of the religion of amity to mitigate the horrors of war in the predatory state of modern industrialism. It is true 'the discord of one age may be

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richer than the harmony of another.' Still the ultimate goal of civilized humanity cannot be a constant state of conflicting antagonisms, but the reign of perfect peace.

But this, in the second place, requires a long process of moral education (not merely mental erudition), which is considered even by Socialists as the essential condition of any social changes which are to produce greater justice and happiness. This ethical training is the proper function of the divinely commissioned 'Interpreters of Human Society,' whose principal aim it ought to be to educate the mind so as to perceive the dignity of labour, and to distinguish between a divine discontent, instilled for higher purposes in the human breast, and a demoniacal dissatisfaction with surrounding circumstances, arising from a grovelling disposition among the 'people.' But the rich need instruction as well as the poor.

'It seems, so far as we can forecast the future, that it is only by all classes taking pains to ascertain their respective duties and functions,' says Professor Fowler, 'in maintaining and promoting the well-being of the community, and making serious efforts to perform them, that the society of the next few generations can be saved from constant convulsions. . . . Hence it is as much to the interest of the wealthier classes themselves, as of society at large, that their children should be educated with a full sense of their social responsibilities, and equipped with all the moral and intellectual aptitudes which are requisite to enable them to take a lead in the development of the community of which they are members.' (*Progressive Morality*, pp. 159-60.)

Among the lessons most needed for this purpose are some of these: that the wealth of the capitalist is a fund held in trust to be administered for the benefit of society; that of all economic values that of human life is the highest, so that labour is not, like every other economic commodity, to be appraised by the quotations of the market, still less sacrificed at the altar of that deity which Mr. Ruskin calls the 'Goddess of Get-on.' The task of thus educating public opinion is assigned by a Positivist 'to the oldest, the strongest, the most universal, the most beneficent of civilizing agencies, the influence of religion—religion systematically promoted by an organized body of teachers.¹ The organization exists already in the Church of England clergy, who have done so much in the past and in the present for the education of the country.

But, in the third place, to bring about a social regeneration,

¹ Paper written on behalf of the Positivist Society by Professor Beesley, and read at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, January 29, 1885.

what is required is not only a more highly educated moral sense, but also a higher degree of ethical fervour, energy, and enthusiasm to effect the great changes in the heart as well as in the life of society, for the latter is conditioned by the former. It is contrary to natural inclination to adopt new views and principles which run counter to habitual modes of thought and feeling, and to change the whole current of everyday life accordingly. To overcome the natural reluctance of the will to sacrifice immediate interests in obedience to the stern call of social duty requires a powerful impulse: 'pour créer l'homme nouveau,' says one of the earlier Socialists, 'il faut l'idée religieuse.'

Culture and art, divorced from religion, cannot effect this, as is evidenced by the failure of humanism in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to bring about a great social transformation. Only religion can touch the deeper springs of life, adding warmth to light and strength to beauty, moral earnestness to intellectual enlightenment and æsthetic refinement. So far, then, as the social question is an ethical question, it is incapable of solution without the close association of duty with religion. What is wanted is the religious conscience in the individual man to call out and collect together fresh reserves of moral force from the deeper depths of personal responsibility; the religious *pietas* of the home which places man 'under the protection of moral purity, the daughter of heaven'; the religious sentiment, purifying and regulating the sympathetic emotions in all other human relationships; the religious bond of union which restores political virtue to corporate life and moral solidarity to every form of collective action on a larger scale.

This is denied by the modern Socialist. All that is needed, he says, is 'le motif moral' to the exclusion of the religious—'l'ancien motif théologique est fini.'

The present helpless and hopeless condition of Socialism in France, its evident weakness as a power to influence the political struggles of the country on account of its own sectarian jealousies and interminable dissensions, are a sufficient answer to such preposterous assumptions; they only serve to bring out more fully the truth that the victory over selfishness, the coldness and hardness of heart which contracts the altruistic affections, and the conquest of self-mastery which calms the social passions, preventing dissipation of moral force by undue expenditure of heat, depend on moral qualities which receive their inspiration from a diviner source. The insufficiency of the ethics of egoism and the self-sufficingness of exclusive altruism find their correction in the religion of Christ, which,

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in a Divine synthesis, reconciles the moral antinomies—the law of self-preservation and the law of self-sacrifice for the general good. It assigns their relative position and importance to each, without sacrificing the common welfare to individual interests, and without ‘merging the particular in the universal good.’ The system of social ethics implied in the ‘fellowship of Christ’s religion,’ without eliminating the ‘felicific element’ (which lies at the root of individualism) in exorbitant demands of self-annihilation, yet exhibits the most exalted example of self-sacrifice for the common good, in which the Christian disciple is to follow his Master. The moral precepts of Christ, taught on the Mount of Beatitudes, find their complement in the doctrine of the Cross, taught on Mount Calvary; and thus, to quote the lines of a sixteenth-century writer, expressing both ideas—

‘Christ is the Author of all unity,
From whence proceedeth all felicity.’

In this sense it is true that wherever the higher morality shows itself, humanity is worshipped in the worship of the man Christ Jesus, as the Exemplar of the individual man, and as the Centre of union in a society receiving its spiritual life from Him, ‘from whom *all the body* fitly framed and knit together through that which *every joint* supplieth, according to the working of (*due*) measure of each several part, maketh the *increase of the body* unto the *building up of itself in love*’ (Ephes. iv. 16).

Here the part is not sacrificed to the whole. All are knit together in ‘one communion and fellowship,’ yet ‘according to vital working in the measure of each individual part.’ Here progressive development, ‘the increase of the body,’ tends to perfect union, ‘the building up of itself in love.’

Natural morality, as defined in the most recent works on ethics not founded on positive religion, makes blessedness to consist in the ‘pleasurable consciousness of the maximum of real sympathy with the moral tendencies of the Not-self,’ which, like the Comtist ‘*vivre pour autrui afin de vivre en autrui*,’ is at best a beautiful ethical paradox. The highest moral efforts are those which are the result of the noblest enthusiasm, centred in representative human beings, not a nebulous phantom of humanity. They come from a sympathetic contemplation, not of average humanity met here and there on the walks of life, but from a contemplation of the most perfect of human ideals realized on earth. But the only perfect form of humanity we have in the person of Him ‘which is the Head—Christ.’

ART. VIII.—RELIGION AND SCIENCE: CANON
CURTEIS'S BOYLE LECTURES.

The Scientific Obstacles to Christian Belief. Boyle Lectures, 1884. By GEORGE HERBERT CURTEIS, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral, &c. (London, 1885.)

By a coincidence which is partly the result of the peculiar circumstances of the time the Bampton lecturer and the Boyle lecturer for last year selected the same, or almost the same, subject for their discourses. The title selected by the former, 'The Relations between Religion and Science,' might seem to cover wider ground than 'The Scientific Obstacles to Christian Belief,' and in an ideal condition of religion and science would involve at most only a historical or a hypothetical treatment of those obstacles—that is to say, a description of them either as dangers past or possible dangers to be guarded against in the future. That more than this is now required is doubtless partly due to the tentative character which must belong to the movements of the advanced guard of science, and which must belong also to the accommodations proposed between science and religion. At any rate there cannot be at the present time any adequate treatment of the subject indicated by the one title which does not largely occupy the same ground as the treatment of that indicated by the other title. Scientific knowledge, the knowledge of indisputable facts, has made vast progress, and it may be that some conceptions connected more or less with religious belief have not been sufficiently adjusted to the progress of actual knowledge. An unreasonable adherence to a too literal interpretation of Holy Scripture, combined with, and perhaps arising from, mistaken ideas as to the nature and purpose of inspiration, has perhaps had something to do with the alienation of minds that might otherwise have been retained in allegiance to religion. On the other hand, the great scientific theory of evolution which undoubtedly offers a consistent explanation of much that was previously unintelligible in nature, and which might be so stated as to throw a flood of light even upon some religious difficulties, has been put forward in some quarters as if evolution were a self-acting principle which seemed to exclude all religious conceptions whatever. The universe appears to be sometimes regarded as a vast self-originated mechanism in which none but

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mechanical agency is ever exemplified. Man himself becomes only one of nature's most cunning examples of clock-work; his supposed free-will is represented as a delusion. In a word, as on this view there is no finite free spiritual being to be guided, controlled, and taught, so there is no manifestation of Divine Will for that purpose, either by miracle, by revelation, or by conscience.

Under these circumstances, if the religious teacher proposes to treat of the relations of religion and science, he cannot ignore the difficulties in the way of belief presented by some scientific ideas; while, again, the chief difficulties of our day are so directly connected with ultimate principles that they necessarily bring into view the general relations of religion and science.

The *Boyle Lectures* for 1884 contain many shrewd observations and many useful suggestions, and they are evidently the fruit of a very active mind familiar with a wide range of literature. This last is a point in regard to which the author is remarkably strong. Few writers, we imagine, are capable of such *tours de force* in the way of quotation as he is. Add to this that his own style of writing is not without brilliance and energy, and that in many passages his evident earnestness breaks out into real eloquence. In character, method, and style the work differs widely from the *Bampton Lectures* of last year, which, however, we regard as in their way most excellent. The *Bampton Lectures* form, indeed, in our judgment, a solid, self-contained, constructive argument which is likely to take its place among the more lasting works of apologetic literature. The subject, however, is so vast and many-sided that in handling it serviceable work may be done in various ways. There is room for the apologist who is chiefly concerned in building up from fundamental principles a logical *rationale* of religion, and there is room for the writer who will indicate the weak points in opposing systems: room for a logical development of thought, and room for discursive reply.

Not by any means the least of the merits of the *Bampton Lectures* consists in the fact that the author, though he introduces such adaptations as are required by the needs of modern thought, builds on the same foundation and follows in the main the same lines as have already stood the test of time and hostile attack. Yet it is not to be denied that new lines of thought may sometimes be tried with advantage. It is quite certain that solutions have not yet been provided for all the difficult problems arising from the increase of knowledge.

Nor are they likely to be arrived at without original effort on the part of many minds. But such effort will often be of a speculative and tentative nature, and consequently liable to criticism. While, then, we welcome much that we find in the *Boyle Lectures*, we should not be discharging our duty if we did not call attention to such ideas as appear to us to require careful consideration before they can be accepted as adding strength to the defences of religion.

The first and most important point on which we have to remark is one that concerns the very foundation of religion, and, in fact, the value of the whole superstructure. Our remarks, however, on this point will be better understood after we have recalled to mind the fundamental principles of Bishop Temple's argument. Moreover, some comment seems called for on this point in reference to the very interesting discussion of it in the correspondence columns of the *Guardian* in April and May last.

Bishop Temple, it may be remembered, finds in the human conscience something that belongs to an order transcending physical law, something that connects man with an absolute and eternal existence. In building his argument for religious belief on the fundamental facts of conscience, there cannot be a doubt that the Bishop is right. It may, perhaps, be said, and the result has shown, what indeed was pointed out in this Review, that assaults may be made in the name of science on a religious argument resting upon this foundation. But what other foundation can be suggested that would be beyond the reach of attack? It is said, and we welcome the admission, that science itself leads to the conclusion that there is 'some one integrating cause of the cosmos.'¹ But if we have no means of ascertaining anything about the character of that one cause, then, however great the satisfaction to the scientific spirit to have penetrated by its own methods to a truth which was apprehended, though unscientifically, by Abraham, yet we have here but a slender foundation for a religion. It has been suggested, indeed, that revelation might supply the knowledge that we need. But how is revelation to make good its claim to be indeed the unfolding of truth? Is it to be by means of miracle? Then we cannot but remember that it is the belief in miracle that more than any other element of religion has been the object of scientific attack. Moreover, even revelation must address itself to some receptive faculty. If the 'one integrating cause' is revealed as the Lawgiver of

¹ See Mr. Romanes's letter in the *Guardian* of May 6, 1885.

man, the Judge, the holy but merciful God, these ideas can have no meaning apart from the sense of duty and the conception of righteousness which are of the essence of the conscience. The probing question, we are told, is 'What think ye of Christ? Whose son is He?' No doubt it is the probing question. But what is meant by the question? Leaving out of view the primary meaning which it had for the Jew and which challenged him to test the claims of Christ, by means of the revelation which he already possessed in the Law and the Prophets, for all others it must be a summons to verify the Divine character of Christ by its correspondence with the partial revelation already vouchsafed to us in conscience.

Another very important consideration is that the argument for religion, based upon the facts of conscience, is, in principle, no new argument, but as old as all religion worthy of the name. Had it been an absolute novelty, the objection might have been raised that the defenders of religion, having been beaten off the ground of miracle, had invented this as a last resource. But, in truth, the argument is only the explicit and formal recognition of the historical foundation of all religion as regards its higher aspects among civilized races. How but by reference to the action of conscience and the thought of moral excellence can we account for the old Egyptian doctrine of the judgment after death or for those sublime ideas of the Divine character which sparkle like jewels in the midst of the baser elements of Indian and classical mythology? That from the earliest period the Jewish religion appealed to a moral sense which it developed and enlightened is obvious when we recall to mind the question of Abraham, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' to say nothing of the representation of primæval man as driven by the sense of guilt to hide himself from the Divine presence. We are not so rash as to assert that in all the actual religions of the world the presence of a moral element can be clearly traced. The time has gone by, perhaps, when a presumed universal prevalence of sacrificial rites could be held to prove the universal prevalence of a sense of sin. The aim of some forms of worship, so far as they are known to us, may have been to secure temporal blessings. Health, wealth, victory over enemies, protection from malign powers, the averting of calamities which a childish superstition foreboded—desire for these things may have entirely occupied the hearts of some worshippers. But only a religion that appeals to the conscience could have a chance of becoming universal.

Whatever universality may be predicated of scientific or

philosophical truth, the language which conveys that truth, and consequently that truth itself, must for ever be unintelligible to the vast mass of the human race. But this is not the case with regard to language addressed to the conscience. In the highest sense this is or may become an universal language. The thoughts are intelligible to men belonging to nations widely separated, though the sounds that express those thoughts may differ. The story of the first Christian Pentecost may, perhaps, be a sublime prophecy of the complete triumph of conscience when it shall have broken through all the barriers of nation, class, and condition, and when by its means the same Divine thought shall be understood, whether the ears to which it shall be spoken and the hearts into which it shall gain an entrance be those of the learned or the unlearned, of the Jew, the Greek, or the barbarian, of civilized man or his far-off brother, the savage.

It is, in the first place, because we look in vain for any adequate mention of the operation and significance of the conscience, that we rise dissatisfied from the perusal of the *Boyle Lectures*. We do not overlook the fact that conscience is mentioned (in the passage quoted below) along with intellect and imagination, as an important 'function' of the mind. But whereas the action of these other 'functions' is described at some length—though to our mind incorrectly, and in such a way as to lead to the conclusion that they are the only factors of thought—there is no corresponding description of the conscience. Nor have we failed to note that Lecture V. calls attention to the sense of shame as distinguishing man from the lower animals. But, even if the sense of shame and the sense of guilt are so far psychologically identical that the one is included in the other, yet the operation of the conscience, as 'approving' as well as 'condemning,' must be regarded as wider than either. That it might not suit the plan of the work to describe that operation in full detail we can fully understand. That, for this reason, it should be hardly more than mentioned, might not give rise to deep discontent if its real value and importance were plainly recognized. But, as it seems to us, that is not recognized, and the result of not recognizing it is that the author has no real basis at all for religion. To speak quite plainly, the impression which many a reader of his work will carry away from its perusal will be, we fear, that religious belief is, after all, only the best imaginative rendering that we can give to certain solemn facts of existence, and that the principal test or proof that it is the best consists in the fact

that it has been approved by the common-sense of mankind.

Secondly, and perhaps as either the cause or the effect of the failure on the part of Canon Curteis to recognize the true character of conscience, there is, in our judgment, a radical defect in his ultimate philosophical principles, the result of which is a certain weakness and inconsistency in what should be his most important argument—that, namely, in support of the belief in the existence of God. We shall return to the subject of that defect later on. It is the result with which we are now concerned.

We begin at the point where the author insists upon the necessity of faith in our mental faculties. 'The very first and most essential act in all our mental work,' he says, 'must be an act of pure FAITH—*faith* in the sufficiency of our faculties, *faith* in the approximate veracity (for all practical purposes) of our mental mirror.' This doctrine is true, and it must perforce be admitted in some sense even by the scientific materialist, though he will join issue with the religious apologist on the question as to what precisely are practical purposes, and he will declare that to employ our faculties in order to reach conclusions that cannot be verified by experience is 'to draw the bow of logic at a venture without the means of ascertaining what has become of our arrows.'¹ But the doctrine is true. The most familiar, universal, and undeniable instance that we can suggest of such faith is the belief in the existence of an external world. Here is a clear example of a belief that cannot be verified by experience. For, since the sum total of my knowledge is within my consciousness, and since all the facts to which I might have recourse to prove to myself the existence of an external world are but parts of that sum total, and, therefore, within my consciousness, it is impossible to disprove by any logic that I am the world I know. But the existence of the world is not therefore a subject of doubt. We apprehend it by faith, and faith only, and yet it is a matter of absolute certainty.

The principle is undoubtedly right, that unless we have faith in the sufficiency of our faculties to guide us to some knowledge of truth, we are reduced to mental chaos. Those faculties themselves, when cultivated and used for mutual correction, lead us also to recognize their own limited nature. But the recognition that they have limits does not affect the validity of their conclusions within the area bounded by those

¹ See Mr. Romanes's letter in the *Guardian* of May 27, 1885.

limits. Whether that area is really so restricted as Canon Curteis declares, and what effect his restriction has upon the value of his conclusions, are questions which we must leave for the moment. The point to be noticed now is that the necessity of faith in the trustworthiness of our faculties cannot possibly be substantiated by the method which he has adopted. He argues, for instance, that if we cannot see in the action of gravitation a 'good and serious "purpose"'. . . . Newton's splendid discovery itself collapses. It is rejected by the common-sense of mankind.' Surely this is not the way to convince an unbelieving scientist of his error. It is useless to appeal to this common-sense as the ultimate court of reason. The men who are summoned before it refuse to acknowledge its authority. They aver that it is in error, and that they are doing their best to enlighten it. And what constitutes the tremendous seriousness of the present hour—what suggested to the Bampton lecturer and the Boyle lecturer alike the necessity of dealing with the relation of religion and science—is the danger (we might say more) of common-sense being so misguided as actually to embrace the conclusion which the Boyle lecturer confidently appeals to it to reject.

It is to the same tribunal of common-sense that the appeal is made to decide the most solemn question of all—viz. that of the existence of God; or rather, to put it as the author does, the question whether we shall accept 'with confidence such conceptions as the human imagination is irresistibly impelled to form.' It may be remarked that there scarcely seems room for a question whether we shall accept conceptions to which we are irresistibly impelled: we have already accepted them. The force of this remark can only be evaded by the hypothesis that the imagination is to be regarded as working independently of reason, in which case irresistible conceptions can only be another name for involuntary illusions. We fear, too, that the contention of modern scientific infidelity is just this: that these conceptions belong to an earlier and less enlightened state of the world, and are of no more value than those of

'the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds or hears Him in the wind.'

We do not wish to be misunderstood. There is undoubtedly some utility in the common-sense argument, and there are times and places where it may be employed with effect. When, however, the purpose of the speaker is to deal with the 'scientific obstacles to Christian belief,' if resort is had to the con-

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clusions drawn by the unscientific and unphilosophical majority of mankind, which are expressly rejected by scientific objectors, it seems to us that something more in the way of independent argument is required than is to be found in the *Boyle Lectures* to prove that the opposing scientists are wrong and that common-sense is right. In opposition to what claims to be wider knowledge of truth, to reiterate the verdict of common-sense, as the author does, seems to be merely a repetition, *mutatis mutandis*, of the proceedings of the ancient Ephesian worshippers of the 'great goddess Diana,' as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. This kind of proof of the 'Christian Religion against notorious Infidels, viz. Atheists, Theists, Pagans,' &c., can hardly have been anticipated by the founder of these lectures, Robert Boyle, one of the leading men of science of his day, who desires that the preacher of them shall be 'ready to satisfy such real scruples as any may have concerning these matters, and to answer such new objections and difficulties as may be started, to which good answers have not yet been made.'¹

What Boyle desired, we imagine, was that his lecturer should meet and grapple with the hostile arguments of the sceptic or the unbelieving materialist, and prove those arguments to be unreasonable, instead of being contented to assert the distastefulness of the conclusions to which they lead. What we find in Canon Curteis's pages is not indeed a total absence of such argument as the case requires. He does sometimes draw the weapon of logic to good purpose. But he returns it too soon to the scabbard, and takes refuge in the crowd of mankind. Thus he certainly hits a weak point in one hostile theory when he points out that the Atheistic materialist cannot get beyond a dualistic theory of the universe, but is compelled to rest ultimately in 'matter' and 'force,' two different things, whereas Theism satisfies the mind with the conception of unity. The argument is good as far as it goes. But when he proceeds to give some definiteness to the Theistic belief, does it not show an incipient want of confidence in the effectiveness of his weapon when he relies upon the judgment of 'the vast majority of mankind' to strengthen him in recognizing Divine Power and Wisdom and Will? Is it not an entire abandonment of argument as against materialistic or other infidel philosophy, when, in the next paragraph, he proceeds to say—

'Let him that *can* live without any such awakened consciousness of God, let him that *can* say, "I know not what you mean by God ;

¹ See *Boyle Lectures*, 1884. Preface.

I am without the idea of God," try to live his life worthily that way. The animals around him do the same. . . . But let him acknowledge that most human beings (at any rate) are compelled by the very constitution of their minds to go further, and to ask who or what is that Power which . . . has developed matter to its present marvellous complexity?"¹

We are far from denying that a legitimate argument may be based on the 'very constitution' of the human mind. But, for such an argument to be legitimate and effective in the cause of religion, the advocate must first establish some real validity for the principles of thought which are common to man as man, and then he must show that his deductions follow logically from those principles, and that the conclusions of the unbeliever do not thus follow. Now, whatever may be thought of the way in which Canon Curteis commends the conclusions which he draws from the constitution of the human mind, as described by himself, all argument of this nature is rendered futile for anyone who adopts his fundamental premiss. Here we come to the point which was reserved just now—a point which is by no means to be hastily settled, since it is one of vast importance. Much more is here at stake than the success of a single speculative effort. The real question, as it seems to us, is whether or no we are bound to acquiesce in downright Agnosticism. The following quotation from the *Boyle Lectures* will serve to bring the subject before the reader. The italics are the author's.

'Why (it may be asked) should that only which satisfies the *human mind* be regarded as true, and that which leaves it dissatisfied and restless be rejected as false? This (as everybody knows) is the standing question of Philosophy. And it were well that it should nowadays be answered out of hand, and be finally laid at rest. For after all that has been written, and thought, and said for ages upon the subject, there really can no longer be any reasonable doubt about the answer, nor any hesitation in affirming plainly that *the human mind has nothing whatever to do with absolute and outside truth*; that it is but a mirror, constructed to image forth the universe in a manner impressive and useful, and delightful to us, and that its presentment therefore is *relative*, not absolute truth. And since we can never get behind ourselves; cannot see except with the eye, nor think except with the brain, it is obvious that the very first and most essential act in all our mental work must be (as was before pointed out) an act of pure FAITH—*faith* in the sufficiency of our faculties; *faith* in the approximate veracity (for all practical purposes) of our mental mirror; *faith* in the gift we possess of interpreting all things in terms of our own mind, complete in its triple functions of INTELLECT, IMAGINATION, and CONSCIENCE.²

¹ See *Boyle Lectures*, p. 47.

² *Ibid.* p. 43.

We shall not undertake to answer out of hand and finally lay to rest the standing question of Philosophy, which, as our author puts it, seems resolvable into the question, Why should that which is regarded as true be regarded as true? We should hesitate about the meaning which the author intends to convey by the statement that 'the human mind has nothing whatever to do with absolute and outside truth,' if no light were thrown upon it from other sources. To put the matter very briefly, the real standing question of Philosophy appears to us to be not whether relativity and subjectivity attach to human knowledge. This is generally admitted, and the second of these qualities at any rate must attach to the knowledge of any finite being whatever. The question is, what effect these qualities have upon the actual value of our knowledge. Has all human knowledge a *merely* relative and subjective validity? If we adopt (as we are quite willing to do) Canon Curteis's analogy, according to which the human mind resembles a mirror, then we shall go on to say, as the Duke of Argyll says, in words quoted by the Canon, 'the human mind is always, in some degree, a reflecting surface (as it were) for the verities of the unseen and eternal world.' We shall say that a knowledge of reality, of truth, is the proper goal of the human mind. We shall maintain that there are truths attainable, and in some degree already attained, by the human spirit which are absolute, in the sense that they would still be true even if man had never existed, that they are not the mere product, the mere creation, of the human faculties. To this class of truths, as was shown in the discussion in the *Guardian*, already alluded to, belong mathematical and moral certainties. But it is just this contention—viz. that the human mind *can* attain to truths objectively valid—which is denied by those who assert with Canon Curteis that 'the human mind has nothing whatever to do with absolute and outside truth.' Thus Mr. Romanes says: 'In common with most modern writers . . . I accept the relativity of all our faculties, and therefore deny that our reason has any inherent right to assume its own validity beyond the range of possible experience.'¹ And it is only on the assumption that he echoes that denial that Canon Curteis can be supposed to touch the standing question of philosophy.

Before the dictum is accepted that denies any knowledge of reality to be within our reach it may be well to consider to what it commits us. It means that what we regard as truth is only truth now and here, within the range of our

¹ See the *Guardian* for May 27, 1885.

experience. Applying the principle to various departments of so-called knowledge, we must admit the truth of such propositions as, that somewhere two straight lines may enclose a space, and that it is not everywhere true that every event has a cause, and that justice is not really better than injustice, and that a logical syllogism, however correct in form, has no validity for other minds than our own. All these points, except that of 'universal causation,' have been actually admitted by those who maintain the dictum. But 'universal causation,' too, must be sacrificed along with the rest, and with it much that now passes under the name of science.

We doubt whether such a settlement of the standing question of Philosophy will meet with general acceptance. We are sure that nothing worthy of the name of religion will survive the implied confession that we are no better than the brute, except as regards the number and variety of our possible sensations; that we have no higher power than the brute of interpreting our sensations, and that it is a fond delusion of human vanity to believe that man was made 'in the image of God.'

It has seemed necessary to dwell at this length upon fundamental principles, and to criticize the doctrine, by whomsoever held, of the mere relativity of human knowledge. Bishop Temple, as we have seen, uncompromisingly asserts the objectivity of moral truth, and his views were unhesitatingly approved in these pages. Those views, however, having been called in question, it seemed to us that, apart even from any reference to the *Boyle Lectures*, some remarks were called for in justification of them. It is, therefore, in no spirit of carping criticism that these remarks have been offered. If opportunity were desired to indulge the critical spirit, it might be found in the somewhat grotesque theory of 'two polar forces in the brain,' intellect and imagination, from the natural play of which Canon Curteis professes to deduce the 'law of recurring unbelief.'¹ But in closing this paper we prefer to make the frank acknowledgement that whatever the foundation may be, there is much that is really admirable in the superstructure reared in these *Boyle Lectures*. We welcome, for example, the clear and decided language which is used with regard to our Lord's resurrection. Christianity, as Canon Curteis declares, does not offer us mere *speculations* to support the hope of immortality, but

'it also offers our tottering footsteps the most solid assistance that could possibly be given, by presenting us with a great typical and

¹ See *Boyle Lectures*, p. 21.

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illustrative fact. It assures us that its Founder, Jesus Christ, actually, visibly, and tangibly rose from the dead. . . . The evidence for the truth of this reassuring fact is such as no candid inquirer can possibly treat with indifference. There is first the undoubted historical fact that, immediately after the crushing defeat and disappointment of the Crucifixion, at any rate *some event* happened which suddenly imparted a joyful animation and expansion to the dismayed and discouraged Church. Next, there is the distinct testimony of all the early disciples, without exception, to the fact that this event was nothing else than the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. And lastly, there is no other competing story about the matter which is worth a moment's consideration. Christendom and its institutions are explained, and can only be explained, on the hypothesis of Christ's resurrection.¹

ART. IX.—DID THE STATE ESTABLISH THE CHURCH?

The Case for Disestablishment. (Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. London, 1884.)

We can scarcely imagine that the compilers of this book are satisfied with their 'Case.' It is a case such as no lawyer would, with any confidence, take into a court of justice, with well-grounded hope that as the result of its consideration by a jury a verdict would be secured in its favour.

It is based upon the assumptions, which substantially form the headings of its different chapters, that the Church of England in her present relations with the State occupies a position which is contrary to Holy Scripture, incompatible with religion, and inconsistent with political justice, &c. It argues that what it calls the Establishment of the Church took place at the Reformation; that the absolute ownership of the property which the Church possesses is vested in the nation; and that on the alleged grounds of the truth of these assumptions, and the conclusiveness of the arguments based thereupon, the Church should be disestablished and disendowed, and that her property should after her disendowment be applied by the State to secular uses.

It seems to us that those entrusted with the preparation

¹ See *Boyle Lectures*, pp. 150, 151.

of the 'Case' have given no evidence that they have comprehended its fundamental principles or mastered its details. The principles upon which the 'Case' is assumed to rest are not clearly exhibited, its arrangement is confusing, its arguments are the specious and fallacious assertions founded for the most part upon popular historical and controversial errors, which have passed current among political dissenters for the last thirty years, and which have been exposed and confuted by Churchmen times without number. The very title of the book is a perniciously misleading misnomer: for while it purports to be the 'Case for *Disestablishment*' it is really intended to be the 'Case for *Disendowment*,' and it is plainly avowed that, without disendowment, disestablishment is neither sought nor would be accepted by so-called Liberationists.

What is meant by Disestablishment? What is meant by Disendowment? What do they both take for granted? What would they involve if carried out as the opponents of the Church desire that they should be?

Answers to these questions are necessary to the right understanding of the 'Case' which the Liberation Society has compiled, with the hope of securing the verdict of the national jury of British electors in its favour at the coming election.

In order to understand what is meant by Disestablishment we must have some definite idea of what Establishment, which it is sought to abolish, really is. If it is proposed to disestablish the Church by law, it is presumed that it is only intended to do so so far, and in the same sense, as it can be clearly shown that she was established by law. It lies at the root of the matter therefore to inquire 'Is the Church established by law? If so, *how* established? By *what* law? Common or Statute law, or both? If Statute law, by what statute or statutes was she established?'

In search of the information required by these questions we must leave the familiar Liberationist area of mere groundless assumption, and try to obtain, as far as we can, evidence upon the points in question from trustworthy historical sources. The primary historical sources whose evidence we regard as of pre-eminent importance, and as affording conclusive proof upon the points of consideration, are the authorized utterances of the Church herself, and the legislative utterances of the State so far as they have reference to these questions.

The utterances of the Church we shall find in the recorded deliberations of her ecclesiastical assemblies. The utterances of the Crown and the State we shall find—as well as the combined utterances of Church, Crown, and State—in the enact-

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ments of the legislature. Did the Church ever regard herself as established by the State as the National Church of the country, and, if so, in what sense did she regard herself as established by it? Did the State ever regard itself as having established the Church as the National Church of the kingdom, and in what sense did it regard itself as having established her? These are questions which go to the root of the whole matter, answers to which ought to be forthcoming. If such an important formal act, of which the State was the active agent and the Church was the passive subject, ever took place in the history of the Church and nation, there ought to be some official record of it, or at least some incidental reference to it. Do the records of the Church, the charters of the Crown, and the statutes of the realm, from the earliest period of the history of the Church and kingdom until the Reformation furnish any such record of it or reference to it? We can find none. None have been produced. We take it for granted, therefore, that none can have been found.

In early British and Anglo-Saxon times, the Church established herself in this country by the same divine power, ecclesiastical agencies, and ministrations of the Gospel, by which other branches of the Christian Church established themselves in Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and Galatia; receiving only such protection from the State and its laws as might have been extended to any other institution of which the State approved. The Church was never indebted to the State for her origin, organization, and spiritually and ecclesiastically established position. The Church as she now exists is, in her constitution, orders, and parochial and diocesan organization, practically the same as Archbishop Theodore organized her, and the same in all her broad-outlined features as he left her. Instead of the State establishing the Church—through the lessons which the State learnt from Theodore, and the aid it received from his master-hand in his great achievements in organizing and uniting the Church and establishing her in the land—the Church rather contributed to the establishing of the State.

Certain it is, however, that we do not find in any early State document, nor in the Great Charter, nor in any confirmation or subsequent edition of that memorable document, any words that would go to show that the Crown or the State regarded itself in any way as having established the Church.

Magna Charta did not establish the Church. It found her established. It did not even purport to create her rights and

liberties or confer them upon her. It recognized her as already in possession of them. It simply confirmed them, and purported to guarantee them to her against violation. Its words are :—'*The Church of England shall be free, and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable.*' Magna Charta no more created the rights and liberties of the Church than it created the rights and liberties of the people, the realm, and what is now called the legislature of the country. In the days of Magna Charta the Church was much more established than what was then the State, or what then answered to what we now call the State. It was owing to the Church's powerful and dreaded influence alone that she gained the guarantees of Magna Charta both for her own, the people's, and the State's, rights and liberties against the caprice, arbitrary proceedings, and tyrannies of unconstitutional kings, from whose grasp she literally wrenched them by the aid of all the morally coercive spiritual and ecclesiastical power that she could wield.

In all the statutes of the realm, from Magna Charta down to the first of the Reformation enactments, there is not a single statement which goes to show that the State in any way regarded itself as having, directly or indirectly, by any formal act or law, established the Church. If such a claim was ever put forth by the State, and can be found, let it be produced by those who, on the assumption that the Church was established by a formal act of law, seek to disestablish her by a formal act of law.

The only grounds which we can find in any statute which have even the smallest semblance of the pretence of a claim on behalf of any agency external to the Church herself which took part in her founding, are the words which occur in the Statute of Provisors, 25 Edward III., stat. 6, which refer to the Holy Church of England as having been 'founded in the estate of prelacy within the realm of England' by the king's 'progenitors, and the earls, barons, and other nobles of the realm and their ancestors.'

But this reference does not purport to set forth or describe any legal founding of the Church by statute or by any formal external act on the part of the State. Its object is to rehearse and reaffirm the fact that as the ancestors of the king, the earls, barons, and other great men of the realm, had, as members of the Church, endowed bishoprics, and founded and endowed churches, the right of advowson or presentation to such bishoprics and churches was vested in them severally, according to the laws of the Church and realm, and not in the

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Bishop of Rome ; and that, therefore, the Pope had no right to dispose of the bishoprics and benefices of the English Church to whom he would, and, further, that persons within the realm ought not to sue to him for them, and were forbidden to do so at the risk of incurring the terrible penalty of *præmunire*.

The whole of the third chapter of the *Case for Disestablishment* is founded upon the assumption that the Church of England was created by law, and by law established at the Reformation. But the 'Case' does not tell us by what particular statute, nor does it define in what particular sense, the Church of England was at that period by law established. After diligent search we cannot find in any of the Reformation statutes, in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, any claim on the part of the State or legislature that by any enactment then passed it was by law disestablishing the old historic Church of England, or that it regarded itself in any sense as setting up or establishing by law a new or partially new Church of England in the place and in the stead of the old Church, which Liberationists allege was at that period abolished or disestablished. If we have overlooked any words in which such a claim is by the Crown or the State, directly or indirectly, expressed we shall be glad to have our attention called to them, and shall make due acknowledgment of our oversight.

There is nothing in any of the Reformation statutes to show that those who were the chief actors in the events which then took place looked upon themselves as doing anything which would destroy the identity and continuity of the old Church of the land, and that would lead to the establishment by law of a brand new Church of England in her stead. The evidence afforded by all the Reformation legislation goes to make clear the fact that such an idea as that, by the abolition of Roman supremacy and Roman error from the Church of England, the legislators of that time regarded themselves as setting up by law a new Church, never entered their minds.

We go further, and say that, so far as we have been able to discover, the phrases 'by law established' and 'established by law' do not occur in any of the Reformation statutes as descriptive of the Church of England herself or of any formal act done with reference to her by the legislature, of which she was the passive subject and of which it was the active agent, purporting to reconstitute her as a new Church.

In its preparation of the 'Case' it is to be presumed that the Liberation Society employed its best available learning and talent, and that it exhausted as far as possible its acces-

sible sources of information, but in its 'Case' it has not been able to trace back the phrase 'establishing' to any earlier statute than that of 5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 1, and even there the word 'establishing' is used, not with reference to any establishing of the Church of England, but the 'establishing of the Book of Common Prayer now explained and hereto attached.' Coming down to the Act of Uniformity, 1662, we find the liturgy of the Church of England described 'as it is now by law established.' How the phrase 'by law established,' and phrases of a similar character, as applied to the Church of England, came to be used subsequent to the Reformation as descriptive of some legal creation or setting up of the Church by the mere authority of law originated it is difficult to make out. Certain it is that such phrases, in the sense used, have no basis in the historical maxims of national common law; nor in the wording of the statutes, nor in any claim direct or indirect, as to the establishing of a new Church at the Reformation, made by the legislature at that period.

Still the phrases seem somehow or other to have come into current use, though never (be it observed) in the sense applied to them by Liberationists and other opponents of the Church, as if the Church of England were a new creation or a new religious establishment, the product of the Reformation and the laws then passed, and dating no further back than the reign of Henry VIII. Thus we find, for instance, the fourth Canon speaking of 'the form of God's worship in the Church of England' as 'established by law'; the sixth Canon representing 'the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England' as 'by law established'; and in the tenth 'the orders and constitutions' of the Church as 'by law established.' In the third Canon we find the phrase 'established by law' as applied to the Church of England herself, but merely incidentally and adjunctively, and not as an intentional formal description of her nature and origin, nor as regarding her in any sense as a production or creation of law. As is shown by the Canon itself, its object was to affirm the claim of the Church of England—not as an 'established Church,' but—as a *true and apostolical Church*; the clear meaning of the adjunctive phrase 'by law established' being incidentally to state that the changes in her relations with Rome, and in her internal arrangements and services, which had taken place as direct or indirect results, were recognized, sanctioned, and enforceable by law.

In this sense even regal supremacy itself is affirmed in the second Canon to be 'by the laws of the realm . . . established,' but no one would say that Convocation, by the use of

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these words in the second Canon, or that King James by giving his royal sanction to them, meant thereby that royal supremacy was entirely a modern creation by the instrumentality of law. In fact the word 'established' with reference to supremacy is used in the Canon as confirmatory of that which was 'restored' to the Crown, just as the word 'established' is used as confirming and placing on an assured legal basis the changes made, not in the historical identity of the Church herself, but in things pertaining to her, at the Reformation.

But from the use of such a phrase as 'by law established' as applied to things pertaining to the Church, which had undergone an alteration at the Reformation, to the application of the same phrase loosely and inaccurately as descriptive of the Church herself, in the sense of being in some way or other the creation of law, the transition was easy, especially when it accorded with the then current conceptions and descriptions of the Church which characterized the growing spirit of Erastianism. Hence we are not surprised to find Parliament in 1689, in its address to William III., describing the Church of England as 'established by law,' nor can we wonder that a stranger to England, ignorant of her Church and Erastian in spirit as King William III. certainly was, should take his cue from the wording of the Parliamentary address presented to him, and in his reply should adopt the same phraseology as descriptive of the Church, and should refer to her as 'the Church of England as by law established.'

And so this loose and inaccurate phraseology as descriptive of the Church, originating we scarcely know when or how, but which clearly has no foundation in pre-Reformation common or written law, or in the Reformation statutes, has passed into current popular controversial use, until some people have come to think of the Church of England as only the creature and creation of law, and have fallen into the delusion of supposing that as she was 'established by the law,' so, for certain assigned reasons, she may and ought to be 'disestablished by the law'; and that what is called disestablishment by law would be but the rescinding of certain statutes or provisions of statutes setting forth her establishment.

We trust it will be clearly seen from all we have stated that there never was such a formal act of the State as the establishment of the Church of England by law; that the proposal for the disestablishment of the Church of England, in the sense set forth in the Liberation Society's 'Case,' is a misleading description and a fallacious misnomer; and that the proposed

disestablishment of the Church by law takes for granted a transaction between Church and State which never did take place. Such disestablishment would involve the taking away of that from the Church and nation which was never created by law; which law secured to them, but never gave them.

Moreover, it would be a violation of the Liberation Society's own professed principles—namely, using the coercive power of law to abolish, dissolve, and disintegrate the Church of England as the great historical National Church of the land, which no statute or statutes of the realm ever created or established. As Professor Freeman says (see *Disestablishment and Disendowment: What are they?*),

‘There was no one moment, no one Act of Parliament when and by which a Church was “established”; still less was there any Act by which one Church was “disestablished,” and another Church “established” in its place.

‘There was no moment when the nation or its rulers made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up an Established Church, any more than there was a moment when they made up their minds to set up a government by King, Lords, and Commons.

‘There are only two dates in history when anything of the kind can be conceived to have happened. It must have happened either at the first preaching of Christianity, or else at the Reformation.’

But as to the first preaching of Christianity, ‘the conversion of England took place gradually, when there was no such thing as an English nation capable of a national act.’ As to the popular notion that the Church was established at the Reformation, people seem to think that Henry VIII., or Edward VI., or Elizabeth, having already disestablished an older Church, went on next of set purpose to set up or establish a new one. But in all that these sovereigns did at the Reformation, and in all that the Crown, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, enacted with reference to the Church, they had no more thought of establishing a new Church than they had of establishing a new nation. ‘History compels us,’ as Professor Freeman further says, ‘to assume the absolute identity of the Church of England after the Reformation with the Church of England before the Reformation.’

Notwithstanding all the changes which took place in the Church of England at the Reformation, such as changes in her relations with Rome, changes in doctrine, rites, ceremonies, &c., and in her order and form of service, ‘any lawyer,’ says Professor Freeman, ‘must know that though Pole succeeded Cranmer, and Parker succeeded Pole, yet nothing

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was done to break the uninterrupted succession of the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

We have tried to make it clear that the Church of England is not, in any sense as understood and represented by Liberationists, established by law; but that if there be any sense in which she may be said to be established by law, it is only as to her external civil corporate life, and in her relations to the State, in the sense that any ancient institution in the kingdom, of which King, Lords, Commons, and people were from the earliest date in their private and official capacity members, can be said to be established by law. That is, she was recognized as a spiritual society and organization, having nothing contrary to the aims and interests of the civil power, and that, as such, she was from time to time sanctioned and upheld by the laws of the land, and safe-guarded in the possession of her rights, privileges, jurisdiction, and property by law, and her own codes of ecclesiastical law were sanctioned by the State by its common and written civil law.

But why should Liberationists and others object to the Church, or to any other institution, because it is thus established by law? Surely there is nothing in the sanction of law to make a good institution bad, or a bad institution good! How can the institution of the Church be morally or spiritually the better or the worse in consequence of its possessing the sanction of law, or because of her law being externally interwoven with the civil law? The fact is—and the summing up of the whole matter is—that *the Church was, by her own inherent spiritual power, established according to law, and with the sanction of law*, but not by the agency of law. Liberationists seem to think that if they can only associate anything in the name of religion with 'law,' they have succeeded in attaching a stigma to it, and in prejudicing it in the eyes of the public. Now we entirely fail to see, as they allege, that the creation of new bishoprics, the formation of new parishes, the building of churches, and the carrying out of Church discipline simply according to law, can be anything morally or spiritually the worse because they are in any way associated with law, and are in more or less direct or indirect relationship to law. The provisional sanction and help of law are necessary to the giving of legal expression and enforcement to anything in the State, whatever may be its nature. Dissenters themselves certify their chapels for worship 'by law.' They register them for marriages 'by law.' Marriages take place in them 'by law.' They put their chapels in trust 'by law.' They formulate and schedule their creeds in the trust deeds, and have

the doctrines therein set forth interpreted 'by law.' 'By law' they meet together for public worship. In their communities they exercise discipline on their members and ministers 'by law.' Their chapels are exempt from rates and taxes and the interference of the Charity Commissioners 'by law.' 'By law' their ministers, by reason of their official religious capacity, are exempt from the performance of many public duties to which other citizens are liable. And 'by law' Dissenting ministers officiate at marriages, funerals, &c.¹ So that, if to be able to attach the words 'by law' to any institution or person be to fix odium upon it in the eyes of the religious public, Dissenters certainly have a full share of any such supposed odium proceeding from the words 'by law.' When the opponents of the Church say that her discipline is 'prescribed by law,' without making any statement qualifying such an assertion, the ordinary reader would naturally conclude that Parliament itself originated, drew up, and legislatively embodied, the law of the Church's discipline. Now all this is not only contrary to patent facts, with which a mere child-student in Church matters ought to be familiar, but it is simply absurd. Of course there is a limited sense in which the laws and discipline of the Church may be said to be prescribed by law, just as the rules and regulations of any corporate or other body requiring a special Act of Parliament, or protected by the provisions of a general Act of Parliament, may be said to be prescribed by law. But it is evident that the legal prescription by Parliament of the observance of the rules and regulations of such a body could only be made with reference to such rules and regulations as the society might be willing to bind itself to the observance of, and not only with its consent, but on its prayer. So, with reference to the canons and constitutions, they were, for the most part, in existence long before there was a Parliament—at least a Parliament in its present constitution. The laws which constitute the disciplinary code of the Church of England did not originate with Parliament. They have been the gradual growth of many centuries, the Church in various periods of her history, from her experience and knowledge, adding to them, modifying, amending, or altering them, as may have seemed to her good so to do. Some of the most fundamental laws originated in apostolic and primitive times, others having their sources in diocesan and provincial synods, or in general

¹ For a list of some of the principal Acts of Parliament by which Dissent in these particulars is 'established by law,' see *The Established Church Question: How to deal with it*, sections 2 and 17.

Church Councils, from the earliest period of the Church's history. Acts of Parliament do but give legal sanction and authority to them, just as, on the same principle, though not exactly in the same way, they would give legal sanction and authority to the rules and regulations of any Dissenting body.

Having thus endeavoured to clear the ground, so far as the alleged establishment of the Church of England by law is concerned, we have now to inquire what the Liberation Society means, aims at, and seeks to accomplish, by the proposed Act of Parliament Disestablishment. And here we would remark that it means and intends that the State should by law take away from the Church that which the State neither by law nor by any other means gave. While we do not pretend to catalogue all the consequences of proposed Disestablishment, we may indicate some of them. By an Act of Disestablishment it is proposed to enact that on and after a given day the ancient National Church of England shall, as now legally recognized, be entirely abolished; that her parochial and diocesan organizations, so far as they are known to the ecclesiastical or civil law, shall be dissolved; that all ecclesiastical laws shall be repealed, and ecclesiastical courts done away with; that the clergy shall be released from the performance of their ministerial and parochial duties; that the bishops shall be released from any legal obligation to perform the duties and obligations which relate to their episcopal office, and that neither the bishops nor the clergy shall thenceforth be recognized by the law in their religious and ecclesiastical offices as representatives of the Church of England; that no ecclesiastical rubric, canon, constitution, creed, prescribed order of service, or rules of discipline as they now exist, as capable of enforcement by ecclesiastical and civil law, shall be in any way legally binding upon any bishop, minister, or layman of the Church, and shall cease to have the sanction of the law; that the ecclesiastical constitution of the Church herself, as it now exists, shall be dissolved; that neither by the Act of Parliament disestablishing the Church, nor by any charter granted under the proposed Act, or subsequently to the Act, shall the new Church that may be re-formed and reorganized out of the disintegrated and scattered fragments, nor any central body representing the Church, be recognized; that the bishops shall be removed from the House of Lords and shall be deprived of every right or privilege now attaching to their ecclesiastical status and office, and that the clergy shall forfeit every right and privilege which they possess as belonging to their office, and be reduced before the law to the position of

laymen ; that the whole laity shall be deprived against their will of their Mother Church of England as they and their forefathers for hundreds of years before them have known her, and that they shall be robbed of all the spiritual rights and blessings involved in her existence and connected with her ministrations as the National and Established Church of England. Such are some of the results which the Liberation Society aims at accomplishing by its proposed scheme of Disestablishment, and such are some of the alleged advantages to Church and State which it dangles before the eyes of Churchmen and Englishmen, in its *Case for Disestablishment*, as reasons why they should support its enforcement upon Churchmen by Parliamentary legislation. The Liberation Society attempts to support and urge its case by advancing the well-known, worn-out stock arguments which have been as often exposed and refuted as they have been repeated, and which it would be mere waste of time and space to enumerate, much less to demolish, in these pages. Those of our readers who may be interested in the statement and refutation of such arguments will find them catalogued in order, and fully dealt with in publications,¹ which the Liberation Society has never attempted to reply to, and which it appears to have overlooked in the preparation of its 'Case.' The part of the 'Case' which proposes Disendowment will be dealt with in a subsequent article.

ART. X.—THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues : being the Version set forth A.D. 1611 compared with the most Ancient Authorities and Revised. (Oxford and Cambridge, 1885.)

TUESDAY, May 19, 1885, marks an epoch in the history of the English Bible. Whatever may be the final destiny of the Revised Version : whether, after exciting an ephemeral interest, it shall be relegated to the limbo of forgotten books ; or whether it shall take its place side by side with the 'Authorized' Version as a kind of critical companion and compen-

¹ See *The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church and The Established Church Question : How to deal with it.*

dious commentary ; or whether, after some half century of friendly rivalry, it shall supersede that Version in public and private use, by virtue of its greater fidelity of rendering and lucidity of expression ; it cannot be denied that a noble and thankworthy endeavour has at length been brought to a conclusion.

It will be interesting briefly to recall the origin of the work. Fifteen years ago, on February 10, 1870, Bishop Wilberforce, of Winchester, moved in the Upper House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury that a Committee of both Houses should be appointed to report upon the desirableness of a Revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament. The proposition was seconded by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and on the motion of the late Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Ollivant), seconded by the late Bishop of S. David's (Dr. Thirlwall), it was extended to include the Old Testament as well as the New.¹

The Report of the joint Committee was presented to the Upper House on May 3, embodied in the following resolutions :—

' 1. That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.

' 2. That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version.

' 3. That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except where in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.

' 4. That in such necessary changes, the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

' 5. That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.'²

This Report was discussed, adopted, and communicated to the Lower House, by which it was discussed and adopted on May 5.³ A Committee, consisting of eight members from each House, was appointed, which met on May 25, framed a body of General Principles or Rules for the conduct of the work (which may be found in the Revisers' Preface to the New

¹ The debate on the motion may be found in the *Chronicle of Convocation for 1870*, pp. 74 ff.

² *Chronicle*, pp. 209 ff.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 328 ff.

Testament), divided themselves into two companies, one for the Old and one for the New Testament, and drew up a list of scholars and divines whose co-operation was to be invited. The company for the Revision of the Old Testament (with which alone we are now concerned) consisted of the Bishops of S. David's (Dr. Thirlwall), Llandaff (Dr. Ollivant), Ely (Dr. Harold Browne), Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth), Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey), Archdeacon Rose, Professor Selwyn, Dr. Jebb, and Dr. Kay. The following scholars were invited to join them:—Dr. W. L. Alexander, Professor of Theology, Congregational Church Hall, Edinburgh; Mr. Chenery, Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Oxford; the Rev. F. C. Cook, Canon of Exeter (well-known as Editor of the 'Speaker's Commentary'); Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Edinburgh; Dr. B. Davies, Professor of Hebrew in the Baptist College, Regent's Park; Dr. P. Fairbairn, Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow; Dr. F. Field, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (Editor of Origen's Hexapla, &c.); Dr. C. D. Ginsburg (Editor of Commentaries on Canticles, Ecclesiastes, &c., and of the Massorah); Dr. F. W. Gotch, Principal of the Baptist College, Bristol; the Rev. B. Harrison, Archdeacon of Maidstone; the Rev. Stanley Leathes, Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London; the Rev. J. McGill, Professor of Oriental Languages, S. Andrews; Dr. Payne Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford (now Dean of Canterbury); Dr. J. J. S. Perowne, of S. David's College, Lampeter (now Dean of Peterborough); Dr. Plumptre, Professor at King's College, London (now Dean of Wells); Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; Dr. W. Wright, of the British Museum (now Professor of Arabic at Cambridge); and Mr. W. Aldis Wright, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

To these were shortly afterwards added Mr. R. L. Bensly, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Dr. Douglas, Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow; Mr. J. D. Geden, Professor of Hebrew, Wesleyan College, Didsbury; Dr. D. H. Weir, Professor of Oriental Languages, Glasgow; and at different times during the progress of the work the Rev. J. Birrell, Professor of Oriental Languages, S. Andrews; Dr. F. Chance, of Trinity College, Cambridge (Editor of Bernard's Commentary on Job); Dr. Cheyne, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford; Dr. Driver, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford; the Rev. C. J. Elliott, late Fellow of S. Catharine's College, Cambridge; Dr. Lumby,

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Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge ; the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford ; Dr. W. Robertson Smith, formerly Professor of Hebrew in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, now Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. No new members were elected after 1875. Dr. Pusey and Canon Cook declined to serve ; the Bishop of Lincoln and Dr. Jebb soon withdrew, and somewhat later on Dr. Plumptre resigned. Professor McGill, Archdeacon Rose, Professor Fairbairn, Professor Selwyn, Bishop Thirlwall, Dr. Davies, Dr. Weir, Mr. Elliott, Bishop Ollivant, and Mr. Chenery died during the progress of the work ; and even in the interval between the completion of the work, in July last, and its publication, Dr. Alexander and Dr. Field have passed away. The laborious and responsible duties of secretary to the company were undertaken by Mr. Aldis Wright, to whose learning, readiness, and judgment, a well-deserved tribute was paid by the Bishops of Winchester and Bath and Wells, in their speeches on the occasion of the presentation of the work to Convocation on April 30. He, it may be mentioned here, drew up the Preface, which contains a most instructive account of the principles upon which the Revisers worked.

Such a company, selected not from the Church of England only, but from other religious bodies, and representative of the best scholarship of the whole country, was calculated to command the confidence of Churchmen and Dissenters alike, and dispel the fear expressed in Convocation that 'there might come to be such a thing as a Church Bible and a Dissenting Bible.' The position of the company was still further strengthened by the co-operation of the American Revisers. The cordial union of both countries in the enterprise was of the highest consequence, not only because valuable aid might be derived from America, where Old Testament studies are being vigorously pursued, but because the interest of the country in the undertaking was thereby secured. The Revisers, as they tell us in their Preface,

'had already made some progress, and had in fact gone twice through the Pentateuch, before they secured the co-operation of the American Old Testament Revision Company. The first Revision of the several books was submitted to the consideration of the American Revisers, and, except in the case of the Pentateuch, the English company had the benefit of their criticisms and suggestions before they proceeded to the second Revision. The second Revision was in like manner forwarded to America, and the latest thoughts of the American Revisers were in the hands of the English Company at their final review.

In every instance the suggestions from America were treated with the same consideration as those proceeding from members of the English Company, and were adopted or rejected on their merits.¹

All points of ultimate difference between them and the English Revisers are recorded in an Appendix to the Old Testament. Many of them are purely linguistic; others express a real difference of opinion, and deserve a careful examination; but with these exceptions—and, considering the extent of the work and the wide room for difference of opinion, they are not numerous—the Revised Old Testament represents the result of the patient deliberations of the best scholars of the whole English-speaking world.

If the names of the Revisers are a guarantee for the scholarly character of the work, their method of procedure is equally a guarantee that no changes were hastily or inconsiderately made. No change was finally introduced into the text which was not supported by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting. Marginal readings were decided by a simple majority, and had the question been determined by a simple majority, the marginal rendering would often have taken the place of that in the text.

To give a just estimate of so large and important a work, which comes before us as the result of the combined deliberations of the most able scholars during nearly fifteen years, demands a more careful study than the few weeks which have elapsed since its publication allow. First impressions need to be corrected by more detailed and accurate examination; and we trust that our readers will not be disappointed if we limit the scope of the present article to a consideration of some antecedent questions of interest, and deal with the Revised Version only incidentally, deferring the fuller investigation of its characteristics until our next number.

I. The issue of a Revised Version naturally carries back our thoughts to the earlier history of the English Bible.¹ In offering a sketch of that history we shall limit ourselves mainly to the translation of the Old Testament, and we shall endeavour briefly to trace the various steps of successive revision which led up to the Authorized Version as the crowning result of three-quarters of a century of progress. The 'Wycliffite' version of Nicholas de Hereford (1382), revised by John Purvey (1388), was made from the Vulgate, and exercised compara-

¹ This most interesting subject may be studied in Dr. Westcott's *History of the English Bible*; more compendiously in Dr. Moulton's *History of the English Bible*; and in more detail in Dr. Eadie's *English Bible*.

tively little influence on subsequent translations. The true foundation of an English Version from the original Hebrew was laid by Tyndale, whose translation of the Pentateuch appeared in 1530. Tyndale's independent knowledge of Hebrew has been questioned, but the testimony of his contemporaries, his own criticism of the characteristics of the Hebrew language, and the internal evidence of his work combine to prove that, although he made use of the Vulgate and Luther's German, he was fully qualified to exercise an independent judgment.¹ The debt of the Authorized Version to Tyndale will be best realized by the quotation of a few verses:—

'And Moses sayd : Hereby ye shall knowe that the Lorde hath sent me to doo all these workes, and that I have not done them of myne awne mynde. Yf these men dye the comon deth of all men, or yf they be visyted after the visitacion of all men, then the Lorde hath not sent me. But and yf the Lorde make a new thinge, and the erth open hir mouthe and swalowe them, and all that pertain unto them, so that they goo downe quicke in to hell, then ye shall understod that these mē have rayled upon the Lorde' (Num. xvi. 28-30).

It will be seen that the most vigorous and idiomatic renderings of the Authorized Version in this passage are due to Tyndale, and even the chief defects which the Revisers had to amend—the rendering of the same Hebrew word by 'quick' in verse 30, and afterwards by 'alive' in verse 33, and the confused rendering of the Hebrew words for 'earth' and 'ground'—are but survivals from him. A comparison of Coverdale's version, made confessedly from secondary sources, shows Tyndale's superiority and the far closer relationship in which he stands to the Authorized Version.²

Tyndale's work was proscribed and burnt in England. In the year of its publication Archbishop Warham issued a bill to be read by preachers, in which it was declared that 'the having of the hole Scripture in Englishhe is not necessarye to cristen men.' But opinion was rapidly changing. In 1533 Cranmer became Primate, and in 1534 a Convocation under his presidency agreed to petition the king that 'he would vouchsafe to decree that a translation of the Scriptures into English should be made by certain honest and learned men whom the king should nominate, and that the Scriptures so translated should be delivered to the people according to their learning.' Cromwell most probably

¹ Eadie, i. pp. 209 ff; Westcott, pp. 204 ff.

² Tyndale's Pentateuch has lately been reprinted in America by Dr. Mombert; Coverdale's version is accessible in Bagster's reprint (1838).

urged Coverdale to take advantage of the opportunity and publish the translation upon which he must have been engaged for some time past. It was printed abroad and published in 1535, and though not authoritatively licensed was not suppressed. Coverdale makes no claim of independence for his version. He tells us, in the *Epistle unto the Kynges hyghnesse* prefixed to the work, that he had 'with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyve sundry interpreters,' and the original title-page described the book as 'faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn into Englishe,' though the words 'out of Douche and Latyn' were afterwards omitted. The 'Douche' was doubtless the Swiss-German version known as the Zurich Bible. With singular humility Coverdale fully recognized that his work was imperfect and temporary, and earnestly desired that a better version should take its place.

His wish had not to wait long for its fulfilment. Two years afterwards, in 1537, appeared the Bible known as Matthew's Bible. It was a composite work. The Pentateuch and New Testament were taken from Tyndale's published translation; the books from Ezra to Malachi and the Apocrypha are in Coverdale's version; the remaining books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles are in a translation which there is little reason to doubt was made by Tyndale. It had not been published at the time of his death, and came into the hands of his friend John Rogers, who, together with Matthew, published the Bible which commonly bears the latter's name. The changes introduced by the editors were very slight,¹ but the Bible rendered a singular service. It preserved and gained acceptance for the whole of Tyndale's noble work, and it became the basis of all subsequent revisions.

Cromwell had obtained the king's licence for the sale and use of Matthew's Bible; but he was not satisfied with it, and in 1538 he applied to Coverdale to undertake a new edition based upon it. This he did, revising the translation by the help of Sebastian Münster's Latin version, which had been published in 1534-5, just too late for him to use in his own version. Münster was a pupil of the distinguished Jewish scholar, Elias Levita, and derived his translation largely from Jewish sources. To him we owe many of the characteristic Jewish renderings which have passed into the Authorized Version. The Great Bible, sometimes known as Cromwell's, because the first edition (1539) appeared under his auspices, sometimes as

¹ In Is. ix. 1-7, for example, there are no variations between Matthew and Coverdale except in spelling and punctuation.

Cranmer's, because he wrote the preface for the second edition (1540), marks an epoch in the religious history of the country. An injunction issued six months beforehand required that by a specified day a copy should be provided for every church throughout the kingdom :—

'Item, that ye shall provide . . . one boke of the whole Bible in the largest volume in Englyshe, and the same sett up in summe convenient place within the said churche that ye have cure of, whereat your parishners may most commodiously resort to the same and rede yt.'

Apart from this the Great Bible has a lasting interest for us. To it we owe the Prayer-Book Psalter, familiarized and endeared to us by constant use. When, at the revision of the Prayer-Book in 1662, the version of 1611 was substituted in the Epistles and Gospels, the old Psalter was left untouched. 'The choirs and congregations had grown familiar with it, and it was felt to be "smoother and more easy to sing."'

The next contribution to revision—one of great importance and wide influence—was made by the exiles who took refuge at Geneva during the Marian persecution, under the direction and auspices of Calvin, who was unrivalled in his own age as an interpreter of the Old Testament. Taking the Great Bible as their basis, and availing themselves of new translations which had appeared since 1539, they produced a version which won its way by its intrinsic merit, and maintained its ground in private use until nearly the middle of the seventeenth century. Its form, its type, and its notes contributed to this result. It appeared as a modest quarto in contrast to the ponderous folio of the Great Bible; it was printed in Roman type instead of black letter, and a marginal commentary was added, 'pure and vigorous in style, and if slightly tinged with Calvinistic doctrine, yet on the whole neither unjust nor illiberal.'¹

The Genevan Bible was published in 1560, and its manifest superiority called attention to the defects of the version sanctioned for ecclesiastical use. Accordingly Archbishop Parker took measures for a revision of the Great Bible. He divided the Bible among bishops and learned men, who were to revise the translation of their respective portions, and send them back to him. With such a method it was inevitable that the execution of the work should be extremely unequal. Some of the revisers, moreover, took a singular view of their duties. Guest, Bishop of Rochester, in returning his portion, writes to Parker :—

¹ Westcott, p. 125.

'I have not altered the translation but where it gave occasion of an error. As at the first Psalm at the beginning I turn the praeter-perfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too harsh in the praeter-perfect tense. Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalms according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon divers translations.'¹

The work was published in 1568, and from the fact that eight at least of the revisers were bishops it derived its popular title of 'The Bishops' Bible.' It took the place of the Great Bible for public use, but the Genevan Bible still continued to be the Bible of the household.

The rivalry between the official and the popular Bible at the beginning of King James's reign was felt to be undesirable. The question of revision was raised at the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604, and by the end of June a list of scholars, to whom the work was to be entrusted, had been drawn up, and had received the king's approval. They were divided, as is well known, into six companies, one of which, including among its members the honoured names of Andrewes, then dean of Westminster, Overall, then dean of S. Paul's, and Adrian de Saravia, the bosom friend of Hooker, met at Westminster to revise the historical books from Genesis to 2 Kings; the second, headed by Edward Lively, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 'one of the best linguists in the world,' and, according to Dr. Pusey, 'the greatest of Hebraists'² (who unfortunately died before the work was commenced), and including among its members Chaderton the first master of Emmanuel College, and two of Lively's successors in the Hebrew chair, met at Cambridge to revise the books from Chronicles to Ecclesiastes; the third met at Oxford to revise the Prophets, and in it were to be found Reynolds, the famous Puritan president of Corpus Christi College, described as 'the very treasury of erudition, as being most prodigiously seen in all kinds of learning, most excellent in all tongues,'³ and Miles Smith, author of the noble preface, *The Translators to the Reader*;⁴ the remaining three companies, meeting at Cambridge, Oxford, and Westminster, undertook the Apocrypha and the New Testament.

The work, which does not seem to have been actually commenced until 1607, occupied somewhat less than three

¹ Eadie, ii. 69.

² *Ibid.* ii. 187.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Unfortunately omitted from most editions of the Bible. It is, however, published separately by the S.P.C.K. in a handy form.

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years. Nine months were spent in a final revision for the press by two delegates from each company, and in 1611 the version saw the light, which, by virtue of its intrinsic excellence, has become the 'Authorized Version' of the English throughout the world.¹ It bore on its title-page the words, 'Appointed to be read in churches,' but

'no evidence has yet been produced to show that it was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the king. It gained its currency partly, it may have been, by the weight of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals.'²

The history of the English Bible during the sixteenth century is a striking contrast to its subsequent history. Three-quarters of a century of constant change have been followed by two centuries and three-quarters of permanence. The Authorized Version has become part of the literature of the language, an element in the national life. We venture to quote once more, *mutatis mutandis*, the touching and eloquent tribute paid to its power by one who, alas! severed himself from the Anglican communion:—

'The uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible . . . lives on in the ear like a music that never can be forgotten, like the sound of church bells which the convert hardly knows how long he can forego. Its felicities seem often to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of the national seriousness. Nay, it is worshipped with a positive idolatry, in extenuation of whose grotesque fanaticism its intrinsic beauty pleads availingly with the man of letters and the scholar. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the grief and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments; and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing which doubt never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. It has been to him all along as the silent, but oh how intelligible, voice of his guardian angel; and in the length and breadth of the

¹ Dr. Scrivener's *Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible of 1873*, which is the standard critical edition of the Authorized Version, has recently been revised and reprinted separately under the title, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611): its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1884). It contains the results of laborious and minute research, and is indispensable to the student of the literary history of the Authorized Version.

² Westcott, p. 157. Compare Eadie, ii. 204.

land there is not a Protestant, with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible.¹

II. Yet, with all its excellence, no one qualified to judge can deny that the Authorized Version is far from perfect. There are in it errors, blemishes, inconsistencies, which every English commentary of any value points out. They are due partly to the antecedents of the Authorized Version, partly to the principles of the translators, partly to the state of Hebrew scholarship at the time. We proceed to indicate briefly how each of these reasons has contributed to make the present revision necessary.

1. The Authorized Version is of unequal merit in different parts. Matthew's Bible, which formed the basis of subsequent revisions, was derived partly from Tyndale, partly from Coverdale. The Bishops' Bible, which the translators of 1611 were directed to take as their basis, had been revised by different hands, on different principles, with very different degrees of skill. The Authorized Version itself—we speak of the Old Testament only—was the work of three companies; and although the companies were directed to confer together in cases of doubt, some inconsistencies could not but result from the plan; nor do the final editors seem to have aimed at removing them.²

2. The translators deliberately adopted the principle of using the same English word to represent different Hebrew words, and of rendering the same Hebrew word by various English words. The reasons which induced them 'not to stand curiously upon an identity of phrasing' are set forth at length in *The Translators to the Reader*. Now, though it would be impossible to render one Hebrew word by one and the same English word in all cases, real distinctions are obliterated, and artificial distinctions created, by such a method of procedure. Without slavish and pedantic literalism it is possible to introduce uniformity of rendering where there can be no doubt as to identity of meaning, and variety of rendering where distinction is significant. One illustration will be of interest. No less than seven Hebrew words are translated more or less frequently by 'plain,' though four of them are distinctive terms for special districts. 'Plain' represents (1) the *Kikkâr*, or 'circle' of Jordan, the wider part of the valley through which the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea, where stood the doomed 'cities of the plain';

¹ F. W. Faber, in an Essay prefixed to his *Life of S. Francis of Assisi*, p. 116.

² Compare Scrivener, pp. 136 ff.

(2) the *Mishôr*, or high table-land of Moab, where stood other 'cities of the plain' (Deut. iii. 10); (3) the *Arâbâh*, or deep valley running north and south of the Dead Sea; (4) the *Shephêlâh*, or maritime plain extending from Joppa to Gaza, commonly, but misleadingly, rendered 'vale' or 'valley.' In the first two cases the Revisers retain the rendering 'plain,' but give an explanatory marginal note; in the third they treat 'the Arâbâh' as a proper name; in the fourth they translate 'lowland,' as the word properly denotes. The gain to the clear understanding of the geography of Palestine is obvious.

3. The progress of Hebrew scholarship since the beginning of the seventeenth century is, however, the principal reason for revision. The translators of 1611 were men of unquestioned learning; but their knowledge of Hebrew was almost entirely derived from Jewish sources. Now, although the study of Hebrew must be based upon Jewish traditions, these traditions must be checked and corrected by the use of philological methods such as are employed in the investigation of other languages. The study of the cognate languages, particularly Arabic, has cast a flood of light upon Hebrew lexicography and grammar, and this study has sprung up since the beginning of the seventeenth century.

A Professorship of Arabic was founded by Sir Thomas Adams at Cambridge in 1632, and one at Oxford by Laud in 1636. Edward Pococke, the famous traveller and Orientalist, was the first occupant of the Laudian chair, and afterwards became Professor of Hebrew. Walton's famous *Polyglott* (1654-57) is a monument of the direction which the studies of the age were taking, and on the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* appended to it (1669) Edmund Castell spent his fortune and his health. Albert Schultens, at Leiden (1686-1750), made further progress in the use of Arabic for the elucidation of Hebrew, though by straining the principle too far he brought it into some discredit. In the present century Gesenius's *Thesaurus* and Ewald's *Grammar*, monuments of learning and acuteness, mark the beginning of a new epoch in Hebrew lexicography and grammar. But it is not the progress in philological knowledge only which has placed us in a better position for understanding the Old Testament. Historical researches, archæological discoveries, geographical explorations, have all combined to make clear much that was before obscure. The time had certainly come for an attempt to produce a more faithful version. It cannot be final, though we should hardly be prepared to endorse the opinion of one writer on Revision, who thinks that

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'revisions at moderate intervals, say of fifty years,' would be wholesome as preventing 'superstitious attachment to the letter,'¹ but it may show—we believe it does show—very substantial progress.

We need not pause here to exemplify in detail the errors of the Authorized Version which call for revision; but it may be worth while to offer a caution against forming an exaggerated idea of what a revised translation can do for the elucidation of the Old Testament. Some of the obscurity which baffles the reader in books like Job and the Minor Prophets may be removed by more correct translation; but much cannot. It arises from the nature of the books and the character of the language. Some of the Minor Prophets are probably little more than notes of the original discourses. They are collections of prophecies uttered at different times and under widely different circumstances. Allusions, the clue to which is lost, abrupt transitions of thought, condensed phrases which suggest far more than they express, must continue to baffle the reader. Hebrew, moreover, is not a language of exact expression like Greek. Far more is left to the reader's intelligence. Constructions are not seldom ambiguous. The crowded margin of the Book of Job in the Revised Version indicates how much uncertainty there is about the true rendering of many passages.

Again, not a few words occur but once in the Old Testament, and the absence of other contemporary literature leaves us dependent for their meaning on tradition, later Jewish literature, and the cognate languages, often with a final result of great uncertainty. Hebrew idiom, moreover, differs in many ways from our own. Tyndale, indeed, maintained that 'the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin . . . in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word';² and this is singularly true for the historical books, written in simple prose, but in the loftier styles of poetry and prophecy there are many shades of meaning which cannot be expressed without awkward circumlocutions, which would be out of place in a popular version. This is particularly the case with the tenses. They do not correspond exactly to the English tenses. They are interchanged in a way which is full of force and significance,

¹ *On a Fresh Revision of the English Old Testament*, by Dr. S. Davidson (1873), p. 2.

² Preface to *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 148 (Parker Soc. ed.)

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giving light and shade and variety, but quite incapable of being reproduced in English. No translation can take the place of the original, and it is not a little sad to reflect how very large a proportion of our clergy are entirely ignorant of the original language of the Book which they undertake to teach.

III. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament is the next point which demands attention, and a few words on this subject are the more necessary because considerable misapprehension prevails with regard to it, and because the Revisers have to some extent adopted a new principle, or, to speak more correctly, have extended (at least so far as marginal alternatives are concerned) a liberty occasionally taken by the translators of 1611.

'The Received, or, as it is commonly called, the Massoretic Text' of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us' (as the Revisers tell us in their preface) 'in manuscripts which are of no very great antiquity,² and which all belong to the same family or recension.' In fact, while we possess manuscripts of the New Testament written less than three centuries after the date of the earliest of the books, our oldest manuscript of the Old Testament is some twelve centuries posterior to the date of the latest of the books it contains; and further, while our manuscripts of the New Testament present a multitude of variations, those of the Old Testament all agree in giving substantially the same text. The variations between them are (roughly speaking) not greater than the variations between the different editions of the Authorized Version which have appeared since 1611,³ and concern for the most part unimportant points of orthography.

Now it is very commonly supposed that this uniformity is due to the care with which the Jewish scribes preserved the text from the earliest times downwards. The probabilities of the case, the external evidence afforded by the ancient versions, and the internal evidence of the text itself, are fatal to

¹ Massôrâ means (1) 'Tradition' in general; (2) specially, tradition concerning the text of the Old Testament, and in particular, the system of rules and elaborate *memoria technica* by which the later scribes sought to guard the text from corruption. Those who devoted themselves to this study were called 'masters of Massôrâ,' or 'Massorettes'; and hence the term 'Massoretic' is applied to the text which their labours were designed to preserve.

² The earliest manuscript of which the age is certainly known bears date A.D. 916.

³ Which, by the way, are far more numerous than is commonly supposed. See Appendices A, B, C, to Dr. Scrivener's *Authorized Edition*.

such an hypothesis. The text of the New Testament has not been guarded from variation, and the Old Testament, as we shall presently show, has undergone vicissitudes which have exposed it to corruption in a far greater degree; the Septuagint version proves that in the third and second centuries B.C. a recension differing from the Massoretic text in important particulars was current in Egypt; and the comparison of parallel passages in the Hebrew text demonstrates (what indeed is all but certain from internal considerations in many other passages) that changes have found their way into the text either by accident or intention, and probably in both ways.¹

Materials for a systematic revision of the Hebrew text are, however, not forthcoming, and the Revisers have rightly 'thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it as the Authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases.' But although they have but seldom adopted the readings of versions in the text, they have noted in the margin many of the more important variations of the versions, particularly the Septuagint. This procedure will probably be criticized as casting unfounded doubts upon the integrity of the Hebrew text, and it is worth while briefly to review the history of that text in order to arrive at a just estimate of its condition.

The history of the Hebrew text may be divided into four periods, the first of which was marked by the exclusive use of the 'archaic' Hebrew character, the second by the transition from it to the 'square' character, the third by the settlement of the text, the fourth by the addition of the vowels to the text, which had previously been consonantal only. And here Hebrew scholars will pardon us for offering a few words of explanation for the benefit of English readers. Hebrew, like other Semitic languages, was originally written with consonants only. Long vowels, especially initial and final, were sometimes indicated by certain consonants, but in the earlier stages of the language even these were sparingly used. Many words might obviously be read in different ways, and the inconvenience of such a system of writing led ultimately to the

¹ Compare 2 Sam. xxi. 19 with 1 Chron. xx. 5. It is certain that one, if not both, of the texts is corrupt. The Authorized Version smooths over part of the difficulty by conjecture, inserting 'the brother of' in 2 Samuel. A comparison of 2 Sam. xxii. with Ps. xviii. makes it all but certain that some of the variations are due to errors of transcription, some to deliberate revision. In Jer. xi. 15 the Septuagint gives a good sense, while the Hebrew can only be translated by violence. See the margin of the Revised Version.

invention and adoption of an elaborate system of vowel marks or 'points.' A manuscript or printed Bible without the vowel marks is called 'unpointed'; one containing them is said to be 'pointed.' All synagogue rolls still follow the ancient practice, and are 'unpointed.'

1. Before the Captivity, the archaic Hebrew character, sometimes called Phœnician, as being closely akin to that used in Phœnicia, was exclusively employed. The oldest examples known to us (with the possible exception of a few seals and gems) are the inscription of King Mesha, commonly called the Moabite stone (c. 890 B.C.), and the Siloam inscription (c. 700 B.C.)

2. Between the time of Ezra and the destruction of Jerusalem the 'square' character superseded the archaic character, as the Aramaic language superseded Hebrew. Jewish tradition ascribes the change to Ezra; but there is always a tendency to connect important changes with great names, and though he may have introduced it, it seems scarcely probable that there was any formal transcription of the sacred books from the one to the other. The archaic character is used on the Maccabean coins, and in all probability the two kinds of writing coexisted side by side for a considerable part of this period, just as uncial and cursive writing coexisted for some time in Greek. The change, however, appears to have been complete by the time of our Lord. 'One jot,' literally 'one iota,' in S. Matt. vi. 18, is most naturally explained to refer to *yod* as the smallest letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which it is in the square but not in the archaic character.

What was the state of the text during this period? Is there any evidence to show that the Massoretic text in its present form was universally current; or, on the other hand, that other forms of text existed, and that great stress was not yet laid on precise verbal uniformity? There is evidence extant in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, and it points decidedly to the latter conclusion. The Samaritans have preserved the Pentateuch independently of the orthodox Jews, in a character differing not very widely from the archaic Hebrew character. It contains a number of readings which do not agree with the Massoretic text. Some of them, no doubt, are deliberate alterations, introduced to give countenance to the Samaritan schism; but there are others of which the most natural explanation is that they existed in the copy originally received by the Samaritans.

The famous Greek version, known as the Septuagint, was made in Egypt in the third and second centuries B.C., for the

use of the numerous body of Greek-speaking Jews and proselytes. That version diverges very considerably from the Massoretic text. After making every allowance for mistranslations, corruptions, and interpolations, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the translators had before them a Hebrew text which was not the same as our present received text. In many cases the Septuagint offers or suggests readings far more intelligible and probable than those of the present Hebrew text. The conclusion is plain. Stress was not as yet laid upon the exact agreement of all copies of the Scriptures. If it had been, it is inconceivable that the Jews of Alexandria would have been content to differ on so important a point from their brethren in Palestine, where a text more closely resembling the Massoretic text must have been current.

3. The third period in the history of the Hebrew text extends from the Fall of Jerusalem to the end of the fifth century A.D., when the great storehouse of Jewish tradition known as the Talmud was completed and committed to writing. All the evidence we have goes to prove that a text not differing materially from our present Massoretic text came into general use in this period. The Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, made in the second century, diverge but little from the Massoretic text. The evidence of Origen in the third century, of the Vulgate at the end of the fourth century, and of the Targums or paraphrases in the vernacular Aramaic, completed in the third and fourth centuries, proves that variations of text were fast disappearing. The Talmud regards the text as absolutely fixed. The quotations in it exhibit few, if any, various readings of importance, and one of the best authorities gives it as his opinion that little, if any, help for the correction of the text can be derived from them.¹ How was this uniformity of text attained? A bold conjecture has been advanced, that at the destruction of Bether, when Bar-cohab's rebellion was suppressed by Hadrian (c. A.D. 135), a single copy of the Scriptures survived, which was the archetype of our present text. There is no need to have recourse to such a violent hypothesis. A far more probable account of the matter may be suggested. When Judaism was reconstructed after the fall of Jerusalem, a stern spirit of dogmatism prevailed. Appeal was made to the Scriptures as the final authority, and a standard text became an absolute necessity. When once the religious authorities of the nation had determined this text, it and it alone would be copied by the

¹ Strack, *Prolegomena Critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.*, 1873, pp. 59 ff.

scribes. Manuscripts disagreeing from it would gradually disappear even if they were not deliberately destroyed as corrupt and misleading. The Jewish practice of 'concealing' worn-out or inaccurate copies¹ is sufficient to account for the fact that there is no manuscript or even fragment of a manuscript containing anything but the 'Massoretic' text now in existence.

There are two suggestive parallels to the uniformity of the text of the Old Testament. The Caliph Othman adopted a standard text of the Koran, and then destroyed all the copies which diverged from it. The text of the Vedas appears to have been revised and determined by a school of diligent grammarians about the fifth century B.C., and transmitted down to the present day without the smallest variation.

Simultaneously with the determination of the text grew up an 'exegetical tradition' or fixed method of reading the text. At first this was an oral tradition only. Neither S. Jerome nor the Talmud know of vowel points, but they regard the pronunciation and meaning of words as definitely fixed. For example, in his commentary on Gen. xv. 11, S. Jerome says that the Septuagint wrongly translates the words *וַיֵּשֶׁב אִתָּם* 'and he sat with them,' whereas in the Hebrew text it is 'and he drove them away.' But the distinction is one of vocalization only. S. Jerome frequently gives the pronunciation of Hebrew words, and for the most part it agrees with the present or Massoretic vocalization. But this exact tradition as to the method of reading appears to have been formed in this period and not before. The transcription of proper names and occasionally of other words in the Septuagint, shows that in the previous period a system of pronunciation existed differing considerably from that of the present Massoretic text. It was rougher, less artificial, less systematized. And the Septuagint translation shows that while in some difficult and ambiguous cases a tradition, agreeing with the later tradition, already existed as to the correct way of reading the consonants, in other cases the reading still fluctuated, and depended on the taste or intelligence of the reader. In fact an orthodox and invariable method of reading the consonantal text only grew up after that text came to be definitely fixed.

¹ Worn out or corrupt copies of the Scriptures were deposited in a chamber attached to the synagogue, in order that they might not be profaned by being applied to common uses. This practice was termed *Gentza* or *concealment*, and this name was also given to the chamber itself. The chamber was emptied from time to time, and its contents buried. Sometimes a worn-out copy of the Law was placed in a jar and buried by the side of a scholar. See Strack, *Prol. Crit.*, p. 42.

4. The fourth period of the history of the text saw the 'exegetical tradition' reduced to writing, and an elaborate system of rules invented to secure the accurate transmission of the text, even in the minutest particulars. Babylon and Tiberias were the great centres of Jewish learning in this period, and each invented a system of reading marks. In all essential points the two systems agree. The Babylonian system is, however, less elaborate; it was completed first, probably in the seventh century. It is only found in manuscripts. The Palestinian system of reading marks is that found in our printed Hebrew Bibles. It consists of three classes of marks: (1) Those indicating the pronunciation of consonants; (2) the vowel signs; (3) the accents, which not only mark the accented syllable of a word, but show the logical connexion of the words in a sentence, and the proper method of reading or chanting it. They form, in fact, an elaborate system of inter-punctuation, and a kind of rhythmical notation. The Palestinian system of vowel-points was probably not fully developed until the middle of the eighth century, but it is important to remember that it did not originate a new method of reading and interpreting the text, but simply stereotyped that which had already long been current as an oral tradition.

The energies of scholars were now devoted to the exact preservation of this text. The system of checks and safeguards known as the Massora¹ was gradually elaborated, and the 'Massoretic text' has come down to us without important variation. A few points, indeed, known as the Eastern and Western readings, still remained at issue between the rival schools of Babylon and Tiberias; and in the tenth century the celebrated scholars Aaron ben Asher of Tiberias and Moses ben Naphtali in Babylon wrote manuscripts which are often referred to by subsequent writers as standard authorities of the rival schools; but the differences of opinion between them concern, for the most part, accents and orthography only, and rarely affect the sense.

It remains, however, to speak of the important variations known by the technical names of K'ri (*read*) and C'thib (*written*). Notes are found from time to time in the margin of the Hebrew Bible to the effect that (1) a word or words written in the text are not to be read; or (2) a word or words are to be read although not written in the text; or (3)—and this is by far the most common case—a word or words are to be read otherwise than they are written in the text. The

¹ Compare note I on p. 451.

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vowels appended to the consonants in the text (C'thib) belong to the consonants given in the margin (K'ri), and taken together they form the authoritative traditional reading. The same K'ris and C'thibs are repeated in all manuscripts; they originated apparently in the unwillingness of the ancient scribes to substitute the word which they were accustomed to read for that which actually stood in the manuscript they were copying. Most of these variations relate to orthography and grammatical forms, and do not concern the translator. Where, however, a difference of meaning is involved, we have no means but internal evidence and the ancient versions for deciding between the K'ri and C'thib. Upon internal considerations sometimes the K'ri and sometimes the C'thib appears to be preferable. The Authorized Version follows sometimes one and sometimes the other; the Revisers 'have generally, though not uniformly, rendered the C'thib in the text and left the K'ri in the margin, with the introductory note "Or, according to another reading," or "Another reading is." When the K'ri has been followed in the text, the C'thib has been placed in the margin, if it represented a variation of sufficient importance.' In following the C'thib in preference to the K'ri they are, it will be understood, departing from the Jewish textual tradition.¹

We have thought it worth while to give this brief sketch of the history of the text of the Old Testament so far as it can be traced in broad outlines, because it forms the Revisers' justification for occasionally deserting the Hebrew text, and for more frequently giving the reading of a version in the margin. It will be clear from what has been said that the vowel-points, though recording a very ancient tradition which existed long before they were reduced to writing, cannot be regarded as of unimpeachable authority, and that the consonantal text, though it has undergone little or no change since the end of the first century A.D., cannot be supposed to have been wholly exempt from corruption in the earlier period of its history.

¹ Interesting examples may be found in Ps. c. 3, Is. ix. 3. The Hebrew words נֹל, *not*, and לוֹ, *to him*, are pronounced alike (lô), though spelt differently, and are frequently confused. In these cases the Authorized Version unfortunately followed the C'thib in the text, giving the K'ri in the margin. The Revised Version rightly adopts the K'ri in the text. In Ps. xxiv. 4 both Authorized Version and Revised Version rightly follow the C'thib. The K'ri reads 'my soul' for 'his soul,' and makes the passage mean 'who hath not taken My soul in vain,' with reference to the Third Commandment; 'My soul' or 'My self' being supposed to be equivalent to 'My Name.' This explanation is forced, and the traditional reading is very improbable indeed.

Coverdale, 1535. [Matthew, 1537.]

Neuertheles y^e people that haue dwelt in darknesse, shal se a grete light. As for them that dwell in the lond of the shadowe of death, vpon them shal the light shyne. Shalt thou multiplye the people, and not increase the ioye also? They shal reioyse before the euen as men make mery in haruest, and as men that haue gotten the victory, when they deale the spoyle. For thou shalt breake the yoke of the peoples burthen : the staff of hys shulder, and the rod of his oppressoure, as in y^e daye at Mediã.

Morouer all temerarious and sedicious power (ye where there is but a cote fylled with bloude) shalbe burnit, and fede the fyre. For vnto us a chylde shalbe borne, and vnto us a sonne shalbe geue. Vpō hys shulder shal the kyngdome lye, and he shalbe called with hys owne name : The woderous geuer of counsell, the myghtie God, the euerlastinge father the prync of peace, he shal make no ende to encrease the kyngdome and peace, and shal syt vpon the seate of Dauid and in his kyngdome, to set vp the same, to stablish it with equyte and rightuousnesse, from thence forth for euermore. This shal the gelousy of the LORDE of hoostes bringe to passe.

Bishops', 1568.

The people that walked in darknesse have

Great Bible, 1539.

The people that walke in darknesse haue scene a great lyght : as for them that dwell in the lande of the shadowe of death, vpon them hath the lyght shyned.

Thou hast multiplied the people and not increased their joy : they reioice before thee even as menne make mery in haruest, and as menne that haue gotten the victorie when they deale the spoyle. For thou hast broken the yoke of the peoples burthen : the staffe of his shulder, and the rodde of his oppressour, as in the dayes of Madian. And truly every battail that the warrior accomplisheth is donne with confused noyse : and defyling theyr garments with blood. But this battail shall be with burnyng and consuming of fyre.

For vnto us a chylde is borne, and vnto us a sonne is geuen. Vpon his shulder dooth the kyngdom lye, and he is called with his owne name, wonderful, the geuer of counsaile, the myghtie God, the euerlastyng father, the prync of peace.

He shal make no end to encrease the kyngdome and peace, and shal sit vpon the seat of Dauid, and in his kyngdome, to sette up the same, and to stablish it with equitie and righteounesse from henceforth evermore. This shal the jelowsy of the Lorde of hostes bring to passe.

Geneuan, 1560.

The people that walked in darknesse, have scene a great light : they that dwelled in the land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.

Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased their joy : they haue rejoyced before thee according to the joy in haruest, and as men rejoyce when they diuide a spoile. For the yoke of their burthen, and the staffe of their oppressour hast thou broken, as in the day of Midian. Surely every battell of the warrior is with noyse, and with tumbling of garments in blood ; but this shall be with burning and devouring of fire.

For vnto us a childe is borne, and vnto us a Sonne is given : and the government is vpon his shulder, and hee shall call his Name Wonderful, Counseller, The myghtie God, The euerlasting Father, the Prince of peace.

The increase of his government and peace shall haue none ende : hee shall sit vpon the throne of Dauid, and vpon his kingdome, to order it, and to stablish it with iudgement and with justice, from henceforth, even for ever : the zeale of the Lord of hostes will performe this.

Revised, 1885.

The people that walked in darkness have

Authorized, 1611.

The people that walked in darkness have

Bishops', 1568.

The people that walked in darknessesse have scene a great light : as for them that dwell in the lande of the shadowe of death, upon them hath the lyght shyned.

Thou hast multiplied the people and not increased their joy : they reioyce before thee even as menne that make merie in harvest, and they be joyful as menne that do divide the spoyle fater the victorie]. For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, the staffe of his shoulder, and the rodde of his oppressour, as in the day of Madian. And truly every batayle that the warrior maketh, is donne with confused noyse : and defyinge theyr garments with blood, [but this batayle] shall be with burnyng and consuming of fyre.

For unto us a chyld is borne, and unto us a sonne is given ; upon his shoulder dooth the rule lye, and he is called with his owne name, wonderfull, the gever of counsaile, the myghtie God, the everlastyng father, the prince of peace.

He shal make no end to encrease the rule and peace, and shal sit upon the seat of David, and in his kyngdome, to order the same and to stablish it with equitie and ryghteousnesse from henceforth for evermore. This shal the zeal of the Lorde of hostes bryng to passe.

Authorized, 1611.

The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light : they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.

Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy : they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, and as men reioyce when they divide the spoil.

For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as in the day of Midian.

For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood ; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire.

For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder ; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.

Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgement and with justice from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

Revised, 1885.

The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light : they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased their joy : they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, as men reioyce when they divide the spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian. For all the armour of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given ; and the government shall be upon his shoulder : and his Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with judgement and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this.

The Massoretic text must of course be taken as the basis of any translation, but it must not be regarded with a superstitious reverence. The ancient versions, especially the Septuagint, must be employed to correct it; and even a temperate use of conjectural criticism must not be excluded. It may be said that these admissions will unsettle simple minds, and cause doubts as to the trustworthiness of the words of Holy Scripture. But nothing is gained by ignoring facts. It has not been part of the plan of Divine Providence to preserve the text either of the Old or of the New Testament wholly free from corruption. An element of uncertainty remains in both, far larger, we believe, in the Old Testament than in the New. Its use is to direct thought from the letter to the spirit, to counteract that letter-worship which has been and may still be a most fatal bar to a real and progressive understanding of the true meaning of the Scriptures.

In our next number we hope to offer our readers some criticism of the Revised Version itself. For the present we will only say that first impressions are decidedly favourable. Extreme care has evidently been taken to preserve the archaic colouring of the language of the Authorized Version, and to avoid forming an incongruous patchwork. We may be most thankful that the English company resisted the solicitation of their American colleagues to introduce the modernizations of the English which are recorded in the Appendix.

We are disposed to think that they have been somewhat too conservative, and that the best supported rendering has sometimes failed to do more than find a place in the margin. The different translations of identical phrases given by the Authorized Version have sometimes been allowed to stand, though no sufficient reason for the variation appears, at any rate on the surface. But the Revised Version cannot be studied without a growing feeling of gratitude to the Revisers for their long and laborious work, and the conviction that light has been thrown upon many obscure passages of the Old Testament, which may now be read in an intelligible form. The resolution passed by Convocation on the occasion of the presentation of the Revised Version to the Houses on April 30, will, we believe, meet with a general approval:—

‘That this House presents its hearty thanks to the learned Revisers of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament for the unwearied labour and singular diligence which they have expended during many years in carrying out the weighty task entrusted to them by Convocation. They desire to express their great gratitude to Almighty God for permitting so important a work to have been executed at

this time, and they pray that it may be blessed by Him to the increase of the knowledge of His Holy Word by His people.'

The comparison of a familiar passage from the principal versions is given, on pp. 458 and 459, to illustrate the gradual growth and development of the English Bible, for the sake of readers who have not access to copies of the various versions. The spelling, it need hardly be said, differs in every edition of the older versions. The Authorized and Revised are added for convenience of comparison.

ART. XI.—THE CLERGY PENSIONS INSTITUTION.

Report of Committee on Clergy Pensions. (London, 1885.)

IN a recent article on 'Clergy Pensions,'¹ we brought our readers abreast of the steps taken, up to the date of its appearance, by the committee appointed at the meeting held in January last, under the presidency of the Archdeacon of Middlesex, to consider the whole subject. We purpose on the present occasion, after examining a quite new suggestion for providing a general pension fund, and touching a few points left for consideration in our former article, to put before those interested in the subject what we may regard as the practical outcome of this whole energetic movement—namely, the proposed immediate establishment on a sound and actuarially certified basis of a 'Clergy Pensions Institution,' from the operation of which, we are ready to believe, results in their special way as financially prosperous, and as widely beneficial, will accrue to the clergy (and to the Church of England through the clergy) as have followed the establishment, more than half a century ago—by the clergy themselves for the clergy themselves—of the great Clergy Mutual Assurance Society, which embraces now amongst its members a very large proportion of all the ordained ministers of the Church of England.

I. The new and interesting suggestion we have referred to, of a source whence a General Pensions Fund may be

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 39, vol. xx., April 1885.

drawn, reaches us in a short paper printed and distributed by the Archdeacon of Wells. In summarizing the Archdeacon's proposal, we must demur, in passing, to the opinion he expresses that it 'altogether discards the principle of a compulsory payment'; but this is a point which our readers will best settle for themselves. Briefly stated, then, the Archdeacon's fund would consist of the income of all livings during vacancy—that is to say, all income accruing between the dates of an incumbent's death and of his successor's institution.

That some considerable fund might arise from this source, if ever rendered available, is obvious; but its amount, we are inclined to believe, would in practice very greatly belie the first calculation of the scheme, and would be at least too uncertain and fluctuating to afford a sound basis of calculation. The Archdeacon, moreover, appears to calculate only on a pension of from 50*l.* to 60*l.* (though he adds the words 'and upwards'), and this amount, even if obtained, would go a very small way indeed towards inducing the resignation of any benefices, at all events above the value of, say, 100*l.* a year.

We will give the outlines of the scheme in the author's own words, placing a reference letter to each of those different points of calculation to the uncertainty of which we shall have to call attention.

'The average annual value of each benefice in the Archdeaconry of Wells is 335*l.* (*a*). The average period of vacation is two months and fourteen days (*b*). The amount of income, therefore, that accrues between the avoidance of the late and the induction of the new incumbent is (in round numbers, two months and fifteen days) 69*l.* 16*s.* (*c*). Out of this sum payment has to be made for the services of a curate, say 25*l.* (*d*); for accruing liability to rates and taxes, say 10*l.*; and for first-fruits, average 7*l.* 8*s.*, making a total payment of 42*l.* 8*s.*; and leaving a balance of 27*l.* 8*s.*

'It is this balance which I propose shall be paid to a Diocesan Clergy Pension Fund. As there are twelve benefices vacant in the year (*e*), the total annual amount received would be nearly 330*l.* from Wells Archdeaconry alone. From the entire diocese, calculated on the same basis, the amount would be upwards of 700*l.* This might be appropriated, in the first instance, for pensions to those incumbents who had resigned or proposed to resign their cures, under the provisions of the "Benefices Resignation Act" (*f*). The amount awarded need not necessarily be the same in all cases. Regard should rather be had to the amount of pension received from the benefice. Nor should the pension be limited to incumbents only. The unbeneficed clergy also, who had served in the diocese for a certain number of years, might be considered eligible.'

We are not concerned to dispute the advantage which might accrue from the application of these increments of livings to the purposes of a Pension Fund. The Archdeacon himself sees plainly our first difficulty, that he will be taking away a certain 'windfall' from each new entrant on a benefice just at the moment when he is likely very sorely to need it. For no one who knows the necessary outgoings involved in settling one's dilapidation accounts, and all current accounts in the parish he leaves, and the unavoidable drainage of his private resources in fees, cost of removal, and possible dilapidation responsibilities, to be met by peremptory cash payment into Queen Anne's Bounty office, all connected with the change of living, will imagine that the amount accruing between avoidance and induction to the living can be easily dispensed with by the new incumbent. He must either borrow other people's money, or sink some of his own in the exchange. This difficulty, however, may be set aside by the consideration that, after all, the men who will require eventually the pension of 50*l.* or 60*l.* will need it still more than the man who is entering upon an average income of 330*l.* We will not therefore impugn the principle laid down by the Archdeacon, but proceed to consider whether its practice is likely to prove by any means successful.

Point (a) gives us the first occasion of doubt. The condition of the Archdeaconry of Wells is probably exceptional, including no great centre of population, subdivided as such centres generally are into a number of modern and poorly endowed benefices; and, therefore, it is plain at the first blush that the average value of livings in that archdeaconry is not a fairly calculable basis for the Church at large. We understand that the true average of value of all livings taken together is only 224*l.* per annum; or, as nearly as may be, two-thirds only of the Archdeacon's basis.

If, then, we take 224*l.* as the initial value, and calculate the different items on each side of the account, even accepting the average length of avoidance of benefices at two and a half months, we shall find a final sum available very far indeed below that estimated by the Archdeacon to produce pensions of 50*l.* to 60*l.*

On this footing the account would stand thus. Average value of living, 224*l.*; average length of avoidance, two and a half months; average amount accrued during each avoidance, 46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* From this, payment to curate, 25*l.*; accruing taxes, 6*l.* 10*s.*; average payment for first-fruits, 5*l.*; together 36*l.* 10*s.*, to be deducted from a total average sum of

46*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* This would leave 10*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* to provide pensions instead of 27*l.* 8*s.*; and if the latter sum be rightly estimated to represent a general pension of 60*l.*, the former would secure very little more than 20*l.*

But we come now to another very serious qualification of the conditions assumed; for it is obvious that should anything occur tending to diminish the period of avoidance the available fund must be proportionally diminished. The Archdeacon puts the average length of avoidance at two and a half months; but a little consideration will show that this cannot be a constant in the calculation. Under present conditions it is the interest of an incumbent, when presented to a new living, presumably of higher value than the one he holds, to postpone his institution as long as he can, for the plain reason that till such institution he is entitled to the income of *both livings*, the one he vacates, and the one he receives. But, if the income of the new living be retained during vacancy for diocesan pensions, it becomes his interest, instead of delaying a day, to seek institution at the earliest possible moment, so that he may enter as soon as he can upon the larger income of his new living. In this case it is no unreasonable conjecture to say that a month instead of two months and a half would be much more like the average length to which avoidances of livings would be limited.

Let us apply the Archdeacon's calculations to such an average period as this. Average net income of benefice, 224*l.*; average period of avoidance, one month; average value of accruing income during avoidance, 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* From this, payment to curate, 10*l.*; accruing taxes, 2*l.* 12*s.*; average first-fruits, 5*l.*; together, 17*l.* 12*s.*; which deducted from 18*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the average incomings, would only leave an available guinea on each avoidance, to form the nucleus of a pension fund.

The consideration of one more point in this matter will show another source not so much of fluctuation as of obvious reduction in the amount to be expected. It is this, that the Archdeacon, while giving us the average number of vacancies occurring in his archdeaconry as twelve annually, has estimated the accruing income of all these on the average value of all the livings, while it is easy to see that, as a rule, the largest livings are the seldomest vacated, and consequently the aggregate amounts accruing during vacancy would be below the average of value assumed. The greater number of large livings are only vacated by death, while the smaller ones, in addition to the chance of the incumbent's demise, are also

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liable to frequent vacancy from promotion. The holder of a living below the average value, say worth 200*l.* a year, may be attracted from it by a hundred better posts in a diocese, while the holder of a living worth 600*l.* or 700*l.* would not, could he make a move for himself, be able to name more than two or three for which he would care to vacate the post he held.

Though we feel bound to reject the Archdeacon's suggestion as being in its proposed operation of too entirely fluctuating a nature on which to base either any exact calculations or any secure contract, we may mention (what perhaps the ingenious author of the proposal may be unaware of, and interested to know) that in some parts of Germany, on the death of an incumbent, the living (though nominated to) is left vacant for a year, the duties being undertaken in rotation by neighbouring clergy, and the year's income during the vacancy handed over to the widow and family of the defunct incumbent, who continue to occupy the parsonage till the twelve months have expired.

II. Passing from this brief consideration of the Archdeacon of Wells' proposal, we have next to refer to one or two questions left untouched in our former article, but which require some definite treatment here before closing the subject altogether. The first of these questions is that of a voluntary or compulsory system; a point which the Committee on Clergy Pensions found it necessary to settle, at all events for the present, in the very outset of their proceedings. Some of the boldest, and at the same time the simplest, proposals were based, and very ably supported, on the hypothesis of a compulsory arrangement; and the compulsion sought for was advocated by some in one direction, by some in another, and by some in both together. To make any fund perfectly calculable and secure in its operations would plainly be most easily effected by compelling every member of the clergy to become contributory; and that, either by bringing all men of all ages under immediate contribution, or by fixing an initial table after which every new entrant on the clerical profession would be compelled to contribute. The second direction in which compulsion was urged was in that of compelling the retirement, at the end of efficient clerical life, of infirm incumbents.

The advocates of both these forms of compulsion were able to point to a very strong consensus of opinion in favour of their views, so far as opportunities for discussing them had arisen, for the most part in clerical meetings, rural-decanal conferences, and so forth. Those who desired to compel contri-

butions of all clergy in early clerical life could point to the impregnable logical position held by advocates of compulsory national insurance against pauperism as analogous to their own : an analogy, however, which fails on closer application ; inasmuch as the compulsion of the wasteful man to provide for himself against pauperism, advocated by national insurance, is justified as correcting the existing wrong compulsion upon all thrifty men to support the wasteful as well as themselves ; while no analogous error of law at the present time compels any one class of the clergy to provide for any other. On the other hand, the advocates for a compulsory retirement of incompetent clergy from their benefices had certainly a strong support in that sympathy, however sentimental in itself, which all appeals to generous duty-doing are certain to command, especially on the part of a class of men like the clergy of the Church of England, by general consent more exposed than any other in our nation to the imputation, while less demonstrably guilty, of the vice of covetousness.

As we took occasion, in our last article, already referred to, to examine some of the strong, and, indeed, insurmountable objections to the acceptance, as well as to the enactment, of any compulsory scheme of retirement from benefices, we need not recapitulate our statements here, but confine ourselves to examining the difficulties of general compulsory contributions to pension funds. And here we must frankly admit the fact that this sort of compulsion cannot be called absolutely impracticable at all, inasmuch as in other Churches not only has its whole principle been introduced, but its whole practice has proved both successful and beneficial.

Why, therefore, it is reasonably asked, if there be Scotch Church bodies which have actually applied for and obtained compulsory powers sufficiently wide to pension all their clergy, should not the clergy of the Church of England do the same thing ? Because, we reply, for one strong reason, in the Scotch instances cited, the compulsion can be enforced by *the people who pay the stipends*, who would be less willing to contribute as they do were the ministers unwilling to submit to so much reasonable compulsion as this.

But in the Church of England this is not so. She has her own property ; it is not necessarily collected and contributed year by year from the members who benefit by the ministrations. If it were, the givers might condition their gifts ; but in this sense we have neither gifts to condition, nor givers to condition them. Any proposal for making the provision of pensions compulsory on all clergy in the Church of England

could proceed from no body of persons entitled to dictate in such a matter, and if it could, could only deal after all separately and singly, either by argument or by action, with the case of every individual minister in the Church, and his appreciation of his own vested right. Of course, it will be admitted that no such measure could with any justice touch existing incumbents, who, probably, in proportion to their merit, have already fulfilled (as many have at cost of great self-denial) the duty of self-provision. The advocacy of a compulsory measure, then, can only be based on the idea of making each new entrant on a benefice accept it on condition of making a fixed annual payment to a pension fund. Very few on either side of the discussion would hesitate to admit this as a *reasonable* proposal; certainly none truly interested in the Clergy Pension question. But then comes the next obvious inquiry, How is this proposed to be done? 'By an Act of Parliament, of course,' is the general reply. 'Parliament,' we are told so often, 'can do anything!' But if there be one thing more certain than another at the present time with regard to the Parliament and Church matters, it is this, that any measure demonstrably, or even hypothetically, likely to improve Church conditions would be most strenuously opposed and obstructed in Parliament by the Church's enemies. The reason or justice of such conduct we need not enter upon, having only to do with the fact, which is not only admitted but made a boast of. Well-wishers to the Church, therefore, would find a great, and perhaps insurmountable, difficulty in obtaining a legislative measure of compulsion such as is suggested. But, supposing for a moment a Parliamentary majority able and willing to pass such a measure, ought we to ask for it?

This is another serious question in the argument, for in doing so we think Churchmen would soon find they had asked a very dangerous boon. It was, indeed, for his own purposes that the horse in the fable first asked the man to mount his back; but the man for his purposes has mounted horses ever since. To ask the State to make the Church tax itself, even for so good an object as pensions, would be deliberately to abandon the Church's present impregnable position, that the State has no lawful authority over her endowment, and blindly to abandon our strongest and first line of defence against the so-called Liberationists. The only body that can have a right to tax the clergy as clergy, not as citizens, is its own prescriptive representative assembly, the Convocation: and the Church's enemies would be as unwilling to allow the Convocation to legislate, even for this one

thing, as they would be glad to find us clergy foolishly asking Parliament to meddle with our money concerns, and thus to cut up our shield in order to patch our shoe. A more short-sighted and suicidal act could hardly be committed at the present time; and as all advocacy of a compulsory measure of pension-provision must rest finally on the basis of State intervention, we cannot but feel thoroughly satisfied that the committee, by a very large majority, excluded from their present consideration the whole idea of compulsory pensions.

In our general argument against the policy of seeking to establish any compulsory pension system, we have incidentally treated another of the points left for consideration from our last article—that, namely, of ‘the wisdom or unwisdom of seeking legislative aid;’ we trust we may have carried our readers so far with us in our remarks as to leave them satisfied that, while no limits should be set to the energy and unanimity of all voluntary efforts whatever, which we can make or get our brethren to join in, for the promotion of the pension purpose, we shall act most wisely, at all events for the present, to let drop all proposals which involve for their execution any appeal, not indeed to existing law, but to suggested legislation.

The principal remaining points—those, namely, as to character, degree, and objects of benefits to be sought in any pension fund—will be more conveniently touched upon as they arise out of the contemplation of the outlined scheme already agreed upon in its main features by the Conference Committee, and ratified by the Conference itself, which unanimously passed the report of their committee on June 16 last.

III. In introducing the scheme of the proposed ‘Clergy Pensions Institution,’ we shall do well, for clearness’ sake, to preface it with the following remarks, kindly furnished to us by its main author, Mr. John Duncan, Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries.

These remarks touch:—

1. The scale of magnitude on which the Fund should be instituted and carried on.

2. The persons under whose auspices and by whose aid it should be instituted and carried on.

3. The nature of its constitution and the form of its working administration.

1. The scheme under consideration is so arranged that it could be started on the most modest scale, seeing that it requires no Act of Parliament, and guarantees only what is paid for on business terms.

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But it is probably more desirable to aim at a high ideal from the outset, and at once to launch the fund on a scale of magnitude worthy of the Church of England, and adequate to cope with the great task undertaken. The leaders of the movement in favour of Clergy Pensions have been stirring in the matter for several years past, and the various steps they have taken have been so increasingly effective in informing public opinion and in ripening it for action, that nothing of a restricted character can be deemed an adequate outcome of so much activity, or sufficient to satisfy the legitimate expectations which have been raised. The present scheme, founded upon and growing out of the labours of those who have thus led the way, is designed to comprise every feature which has been mooted, including eventual provision for widows and orphans, to meet the requirements of veteran clergymen of the present time as well as those of future generations, and while having as its salient and permanent characteristic the exercise of provident saving on the part of the clergy themselves, especially of the younger clergy, it admits of income from all legitimate sources.

The time seems now to have fully come for the creation of an institution with the far-reaching aims here proposed—an institution which, as a matter of right and of absolute certainty, will provide for the general body of the clergy of the Church of England those ameliorations of the condition of the aged, the widow, and the orphan, which are provided for other sections of the community—by, for example, the well-known Indian Civil Service Funds, by time-honoured City Guilds, by the provident funds of various banking, railway, and other mercantile establishments, and by the public purse for the various high functionaries of State, legal and political, naval and military. If projected on a small scale it may well be stranded in obscurity, and if it exclude from the range of its operations any suitable and legitimate object of its care, it will encourage the formation of rivals to take them up. But if it at once take the position of being the Church Pensions Fund *par excellence*, if it be so catholic in its scope as to leave no reason for the existence of other funds created to deal with what it neglects, its momentum may well prove resistless and its success be assured.

2. In order that the fund may be launched on the scale of magnitude indicated above, it will be essential, or at least desirable, that several dignitaries of the Church and a number of laymen of position and means be associated with it.

The co-operation of wealthy persons is needed in respect both of those clergymen who will exercise self-help by making payments to the fund, and of those who are already too old to do so. It is clear that the latter class of clergymen, those who by reason of age are under the necessity of at once becoming beneficiaries, can be provided for only by the munificence of persons who are ready to supply the necessary means. While in the case of the younger clergy the necessity of initiatory funds arises from the fact that, before any definite benefit can be guaranteed to any member in return for a definite payment made by him, it will be necessary, in terms of the

Act 33 and 34 Victoria, cap. 61, to deposit 20,000*l.* with the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery.

But it is in evidence that money to a tangible amount is ready now, and it is reasonable to infer that very considerable further sums would be immediately forthcoming, for the purposes of a well-digested and practicable scheme of Clergy Pensions. Let a knowledge of the full purport of the business in hand be spread in the proper quarters; let it be made known among wealthy Churchmen and Churchwomen that as in the days of their ancestors material provision was made for the working years of the clergy, so now in these days a determined effort is being made to meet the remaining necessities of the case (hitherto neglected or dealt with in a desultory and uncertain manner), namely, the support of the clergy when past work, and of the widows and young orphans whom they leave at death; let it clearly appear that this is a great work, an undertaking destined to become historical, and to leave an abiding impress on the national life, and no difficulty need be apprehended with regard to the deposit of a sufficient initial sum to satisfy the requirements of the Act referred to.

3. The nature of the constitution of the fund would be practically the same as that of a Mutual Insurance Society, having no shareholders or capital like a Joint Stock Company. No promotion money would be paid at the formation, nor dividends from profits afterwards, but the whole clear income, after meeting necessary expenses, would be devoted to the beneficiaries. The deed of constitution would be drawn by a lawyer; there would be trustees, in whose names investments would be made; directors to perform the usual functions of a board; with officers and a staff to carry on the work of correspondence, of receiving cash and disbursing it, and of keeping an accurate record, in a convenient form, of all the data necessary now and hereafter for the proper administration of the various sections, and of the diverse benefits under them. One important function of the executive would be the organization of a complete system of communication with every corner of England, with the object of bringing every clergyman within the pale of the fund, and of moving the churchwardens and the well-to-do members of each church to take such steps as should be suggested to them in respect of securing the advantages of the fund for their own clergyman primarily, and also, if a wealthy congregation, for the clergy generally. In all this the central executive would take the initiative and give the impetus, devising and supplying forms, and disseminating information; while the existing machinery of the various dioceses would no doubt be at once available for reaching the respective local ramifications of the Church.

With a good start, followed up by vigorous business management, the fund would no doubt speedily accomplish every desirable purpose, and go down to posterity as a perennial source of beneficence.

We subjoin an outline of the scheme, as follows:—

Let an institution be founded to be styled the ‘Clergy Pensions Institution.’ Let it embrace four Sections, A, B, C, and D.

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SECTION A, wherein Definite Benefits will be secured by Definite Payments.

SECTION B, wherein Benefits derivable under Section A will receive Augmentation.

SECTION C, wherein payments made in early Clerical life will secure relatively large Pensions to the Unbeneficed in later life.

SECTION D, wherein Immediate Benefits will be provided in certain cases not coming under any of the previous Sections.

SECTION A, OR GENERAL PENSIONS FUND.

Section A will constitute the ground-work and nucleus of the whole Clergy Pensions Institution. Excepting those clergymen who will come within the provisions of Section D, every clergyman present and future will be eligible to join the institution, *i.e.*, become a member, by selecting, under Section A, a benefit or benefits for which he will pay ; and (still excepting those coming under Section D as above) no clergyman will derive any benefit from the institution who does not so join it.

The Payments.—Under Section A the payments as to their rate or amount will be matter of actuarial calculation in view of the respective benefits to be secured. (See examples, *infra*). Under Section A the payments as to their mode will be made either in one sum, or spread over a limited number of years, or will be periodical until the benefit becomes receivable. A choice of equivalent modes will be given from which each member may make a selection for himself. Under Section A the payments as to their sources will be derived either from the members' own means, or from other sources, or partly from both.

The Benefits.—As to the classes of persons who will be beneficiaries under Section A, they shall at the establishment of the institution be clergymen only, but any other class, *e.g.*, widows and orphans, can be added at any later period without any fresh organization. The payments required will be regulated accordingly. Under Section A, when a benefit which has been paid for becomes due, the beneficiary will receive it irrespectively of what his means or position may then be. As to the nature of the benefits to be included within the scope of Section A, they will at the outset be pensions to clergymen for life after the age of sixty. Under Section A the definite benefits will be guaranteed.

SECTION B, OR AUGMENTATION FUND.

Section B will operate for the augmentation of the benefits derived by all or some of those who may become beneficiaries under Section A. In other words, it will be instituted to provide grants in all cases, or in certain cases, in excess of the definite benefits secured by the definite payments which shall have been made by or for individuals under Section A.

The Income.—As to its mode : the income under Section B can be received either in lump sums or in subscriptions becoming due

periodically. As to its sources : the income under Section B will be derived from such external sources as legacies, donations, the offertory, contributions from public bodies clerical and lay, and, if ever found desirable and practicable, by a tax on clerical incomes and ecclesiastical revenues.

The Outgo.—As to the classes of persons who will be beneficiaries under Section B, they will be those members who have joined the institution under Section A. As to the nature of the benefits to be granted under Section B, it will be simply an augmentation of the benefits of the various kinds which may be purchasable under Section A. The rate of augmentation will depend on the total amount of extraneous contributions which may be received as income under Section B. Under Section B the amount of the augmentation will be allotted in each case on application, and its continuance undiminished will then be guaranteed.

SECTION C, OR FUND FOR THE UNBENEFICED.

Section C will embody the plan advocated by the Rev. Canon Blackley, by which a moderate payment made in early clerical life will provide comparatively large pensions for the limited number who may be, or may become by retirement, unbeneficed at or after the age of sixty.

The Payments.—Under Section C the payments required, as to their amount, will in each case be in effect one-fourth of the sum necessary to secure *£100* a year for life after the age of sixty under Section A. (See example, *infra*.) As to their mode, however, the payments may be made either in one sum, or in equivalent periodical payments during a limited number of years. Under Section C the payments, as to their sources, will be derived either from the members' own means, or from other sources, or partly from both.

The Benefits.—As to the class of persons who will be beneficiaries under Section C, they will be those who, having joined it at ordination, or within the limit of time thereafter now to be fixed, are, or become by retirement, unbeneficed at or after the age of sixty. During the first year after the foundation of the institution the limit of time referred to above to be *ten years*, during the second year *nine years*, during the third year *eight years*, during the fourth year *seven years*, during the fifth year *six years*, and during the sixth and all subsequent years *five years*. Under Section C a minimum pension of *25*l. yearly (as paid for) will be guaranteed ; but in every case this pension will be augmented by as large a sum as can equitably be claimed in view of the total amount available under this section, and of the total number of members who are unbeneficed. It is estimated, but of course cannot be guaranteed, that the accruing augmentation will add at least *75*l. a year to the *25*l. a year purchased and guaranteed.

SECTION D, OR TEMPORARY BENEVOLENT FUND.

Section D will be temporarily instituted for the purpose of furnishing pensions to clergymen, who, being over sixty years of age at

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the date of establishment of the institution, have not had an opportunity of providing benefits for themselves by joining the institution under Sections A or C.

The Income.—As to its amount : the income under Section D may be as great as it can possibly be made. As the beneficiaries die out, the surplus income, if any, will be transferred to Sections B and C. As to its mode : the income under Section D can be received either in single sums or in subscriptions payable periodically. As to its sources : the income under Section D will be derived from such external sources as legacies, donations, offertories, contributions from public bodies, clerical and lay, and, if ever found desirable and practicable, from a tax on certain clerical incomes and ecclesiastical revenues.

The Outgo.—As to the persons who will be beneficiaries under Section D, they shall be in the first instance those clergymen who, at the date of establishment of the institution, are, or were, aged not less than sixty years ; but any other class, *e.g.*, widows and orphans, can be added at any later period, as the funds under this section may permit. Under Section D grants will be made to clergymen who are already over sixty years of age, of benefits of the same nature as those which clergymen aged fifty-nine and under will be able to provide for themselves under Section A, and to the extent which the total amount of extraneous contributions which may be received as income under Section D will permit. Under Section D the amount of the pension will be allotted in each case on application, and its continuance undiminished will then be guaranteed.

Examples.—Your committee has also been furnished by Mr. Duncan with tables specially prepared for the present scheme, showing the cost, on a purely business footing, of various benefits which may appropriately be included in the operations of the institution, either at the outset or afterwards ; and further, the committee has had before it the rates charged by the Government for deferred annuities. It is not proposed to publish tables here, but the following examples will illustrate their application under the scheme.

EXAMPLES UNDER SECTION A, OR GENERAL PENSIONS FUND.

1. *Pensions for Clergymen.*—A clergyman, aged twenty-five, by a single payment of 256*l.* 5*s.*, or by yearly payments of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* made by himself or by others on his behalf, or partly from one source and partly from the other, may secure a pension of 100*l.* for life, to commence at the age of sixty, whether he be then benefited or unbenefited. If sixty-five were the prospective age for commencement, the rates would be respectively 158*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 7*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Similarly for a clergyman aged thirty, the single and yearly payments would respectively be 307*l.* 10*s.* and 17*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* for 100*l.* a year to begin at age sixty, and 190*l.* and 10*l.* for 100*l.* a year to begin at age sixty-five. No evidence of health is required.

2. *Pensions for Widows.*—A clergyman, aged thirty, with a wife of twenty-five, by a single payment of 243*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, or a yearly payment of 16*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* till he die or reach sixty years, made by himself or by

others on his behalf, or partly from one source and partly from the other, may secure a pension of 50*l.* yearly to his widow for life, at whatever date he may die. Evidence of health of the husband will be required, and when not quite satisfactory, a special rate will be charged.

3. *Pensions for Orphans*.—A clergyman, aged thirty, with a child under one year old, may secure that after his death 20*l.* will be paid to the child yearly up to the age of eighteen, by making a single payment of 18*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, or ten yearly payments, of which the first will be 4*l.*, the second 3*l.* 12*s.*, and so on, decreasing by 8*s.* yearly until extinguished at the tenth payment, which will be 8*s.* The payments may be made in whole or in part by the father himself or by others, and evidence of his health will be required, a special rate being fixed when necessary.

1, 2, 3. *Pensions for Clergymen, Widows, and Orphans, with Provision for Dilapidations*.—Taking round figures, a healthy clergyman, aged twenty-five, by paying 24*l.* yearly, may secure 1,000*l.*, to be paid to himself at the age of sixty, or to his representatives if he die before sixty. Suppose that he dies at the age of fifty, leaving a widow of the same age; if she be a delicate person (or even though healthy, if she be left with a young family) she will rather take the 1,000*l.* in cash than a pension which will terminate with her life; if she be healthy, she may choose to exchange the 1,000*l.* for a life income, in which case she may have 67*l.* yearly while she lives. Should the husband live to sixty, he may similarly either take the 1,000*l.* in cash, or exchange it for a yearly income of 99*l.* during his own life, or of 85*l.* during his wife's life, or of 71*l.* as long as either of them is alive. This arrangement adapts itself automatically to a variety of circumstances. The clergyman may be married or not at the time of joining; his wife may be any number of years older or younger than himself, or he may never marry at all; his wife may die before him and he may not marry again, or he may marry a lady of a different age; or he may leave a motherless family; none of these circumstances entails a loss. This is also a convenient mode of providing the cost of repairing dilapidations, an item which often hampers a clergyman's family at his death, or is an obstacle to his retirement from his benefice during life. A further proviso will meet the case of anyone who may find himself unable to continue his payments. In his case the benefit for which he has been paying will not be wholly forfeited, but merely reduced in amount proportionately to the number of payments he has actually made as compared with the whole number he intended to make. Thus, since a clergyman entering at age twenty-five, as in the above illustration, would intend, by living to the age of sixty, to make thirty-five payments; if he made only seven payments and then ceased while still remaining alive, the sum payable at the age of sixty, or at death, if previous, would not be cancelled, but would merely be reduced to 7-35ths of 1,000*l.*—*i.e.*, to 200*l.*

EXAMPLE UNDER SECTION C.

Pensions for the Unbeneficed.—As has been seen in the first of the above examples, a clergyman aged twenty-five will need, under Section

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A, to pay 256*l.* 5*s.* in one sum to secure 100*l.* a year for life after the age of sixty, whether he be then benefited or not. Under Section C he will be required to pay only one-fourth of that sum, namely 64*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, on the estimate that out of every four members who join there will be three of them benefited at age sixty and only one unbenefited; in which event the 64*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* paid at the outset by each of the four will provide 100*l.* a year to that one of their number who is then unbenefited. In cases in which it is not convenient for the member himself, or by the aid of others, to pay 64*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* in one sum, he may pay as its equivalent either five yearly premiums of 13*l.* 13*s.* each, or ten of 7*l.* 10*s.* each, every such annual premium paid securing its proportion of the whole pension of 100*l.*

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Income derived from external sources, and not designed for specified individuals, but for the benefit of members of the institution generally, will be allocated under such sections, and to such classes of beneficiaries under those sections, as may be appointed by the contributors, and in default of such appointment, by a committee. While the scheme is founded upon self-help, it also allows scope for giving practical effect to the conviction that the whole income of the Church is not more than enough—if it be enough—to support a sufficiently large body of vigorous clergy in active service, and that it is inadequate to support in addition those members of that body who become unfit for active service, and to enable all to provide for their widows and orphans besides. In reference also to the necessity for extraneous contributions in respect even of the feature of self-help, it has to be kept in view that before any definite benefit can be guaranteed to any member in return for a definite payment made by him, it will be necessary in terms of the Act of 33 and 34 Vict., cap. 61, to deposit 20,000*l.* with the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery.

We will conclude with a few remarks on alleged objections to this scheme. These objections are, firstly, that it is not compulsory, and does not include widows and orphans; secondly, that it is eleemosynary; and, thirdly, that Section C is founded on a basis of compulsion, and cannot be carried out in a voluntary form.

We have already stated that the first step taken by the committee was, by an overwhelming majority, to exclude compulsion from their purview, and that for the reasons we have already stated, fortified by the additional very important considerations that no advocate of compulsion, notwithstanding the alleged popularity of the proposal, was able to offer any reasonable proof of its practicability. It was therefore felt that its advocacy at the present time would obstruct, instead of furthering, the great objects in view. The same

initial difficulty probably weighed with the committee in not specially suggesting compulsory provision for widows and orphans.

It will, however, be observed that though the committee absolutely refused to make compulsory pension-provision in any form part of its recommendation, it has in its Report carefully made a place for the collection and administration of compulsory funds 'should they at any future time be found desirable and practicable.'

The second point of objection is based on the alleged eleemosynary character of the provisions. In this respect it is very important to distinguish between the initial payments contributed by members and the ultimate augmentation which may accrue from benefactions to the funds.

For these latter, contributed, and very largely, as indeed they would be, by Churchmen, for the good and efficiency of the Church herself, would be altogether wrongly regarded as eleemosynary. They would take the form of a bonus on the members' own independent contributions, and, so far as they went to increase retiring pensions, would be met on the part of each aged recipient by a very important *quid pro quo*, in the fact of his retiring in favour of a younger man from a benefice from which neither law nor justice could eject him. And being in every case contributed voluntarily for Church purposes by Church people, the augmentations would be endowments of the very same character as those which the retiring incumbent would resign, and the receipt of which, during his incumbency, he had never thought of regarding as an alms.

Initial payments of the premiums for pensions on the other hand might partake of an occasional eleemosynary character, but that would be only outside of the Society itself and its constitution, which therefore must not be saddled with any blame, if blame there be, in the matter. Suppose a curate at ordination knows that a payment of sixty odd pounds would secure him almost a certainty of a pension of 100*l.* or more after sixty if unbeneficed, and were desirous of securing such a contract; supposing him able at most to contribute 15*l.* of this sum himself (or roughly about 5*l.* a year for three years); supposing further that, on application and a statement of his means, the Church Society of his diocese were willing to double his contribution; that, we will say, some of the very many existing clergy charities were willing, as securing them from the possibility of future far more pressing claims on their funds in his behalf, to contribute as much as

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the Diocesan Society; and that a sum specially entrusted for aid of special cases to some central society were ready to pay the remaining fourth part, the thing would be done. The curate would make his contract on the fixed terms in the institution, and his policy, paid for at the fixed rate, would receive its own share of augmentation. Three-fourths of his initial payment might be eleemosynary, but with that the Pensions Institution need have nothing whatever to do or to inquire; all *its* business would be done on an independent footing, and the source of the initial payment would be simply the contractors' affair.

The dissent grounded on the supposition that Canon Blackley's proposal, provided for in Section C, can only succeed on a compulsory basis, is simply due to a misapprehension of his distinct statement to the contrary. Nor, were the supposition well founded, would it in the least affect the action of the institution, which only would guarantee, under Section C, the sum actually paid for, plus the due ascertained share of accretions, which in any case whatever must, as has been shown, be necessarily very great.

The fact that the law requires the deposit of 20,000*l.* on formation of any new annuity society, needs a word of remark as bearing on the wrongly supposed eleemosynary character of the institution. For it need not be imagined that in requiring for its beneficent purposes the initial *deposit* of 20,000*l.* anything like a *gift* of such a sum is asked for. It would hardly, were such the case, be a proceeding consistent with the 'self-help' principle laid down as essential to the success of such a scheme that its promoters should begin by 'asking an alms' of 20,000*l.* The deposit required would be *only temporary*, the persons depositing it being entitled to draw the interest of their securities lodged, and to withdraw the entire sum when once the accumulations of independent payments for benefits contracted for under the proposed scheme had reached to 20,000*l.* The law requires this sum to be deposited, because, in the case of any ordinary life office, large claims might by some exceptional fatality arise almost immediately after the foundation of the institution requiring a larger sum in cash than the whole premium income in hand would reach. But in a Clergy Pension Institution all the pensions would be deferred, nearly all for at least twenty-five years, and a great proportion for thirty-five years, during which time the premiums, paid chiefly in lump sums, on completion of contract, and all, if not in lump sums, in instalments within ten years at the utmost, would set free by

its great accumulation the initial deposit of 20,000*l.* within a very short time indeed of the institution of the fund.

In short, beyond the mere preliminary and administrative expenses, the latter only growing with the growth of the fund, no need could ever arise for drawing from the deposited fund, and no risk could be run by the depositors.

This seems so clearly obvious under the proposed constitution of the fund, that we can see no reason why the Ecclesiastical Commission, Queen Anne's Bounty Board, or any such institution, need hesitate to aid the proposed Church movement by the temporary deposit, without expending a half-penny of cost or incurring a particle of risk, of securities to the value of 20,000*l.* with the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, in order to satisfy the wise requirements of the law.

SHORT NOTICES.

Primitive Consecration of the Eucharistic Oblation. By the Rev. E. S. FROULKES. (London : J. T. Hayes, 1885.)

Is it the case that every celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Western Church since the ninth century has been an insult to the Holy Ghost—only not a sin in that it has been committed ignorantly? This is one conclusion to which this remarkable book asks our assent.

The ordinary belief of the Church for ages has been that the consecration of the elements in the Holy Eucharist is not effected without the words of institution; the difference between Eastern and Western theology on this point being that the Western Church believes the words of Christ alone to be sufficient, Jesus Christ Himself being the real officiant, as well as the victim, whereas the Eastern Church considers a verbal invocation of the Holy Spirit to be also necessary in order to complete the consecration.

As a matter of fact the words of institution form an integral part of every *important* extant Liturgy but one, that is the Liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, the oldest of the East Syrian (sometimes called the 'Nestorian') family of Liturgies. There are three more less important exceptions among the large group of Syro-Jacobite Liturgies; while three more of the same group, and one Copto-Jacobite Liturgy, are without one member of the words of institution. We call these exceptions 'less important' because these Liturgies are all non-orthodox. The absence of the words in their full form from Liturgies of the Gallican family makes only an apparent exception, for the cue-words '*Qui pridie*,' or '*Ipse enim pridie*,' are always inserted in the text, and show that the regular formula was supplied

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from memory by the celebrant. It has been thought by some that this was also the case with the East Syrian Liturgy above mentioned.

On the other hand, an invocation of the Holy Ghost is found in every Eastern Liturgy; and sufficient traces of it are discoverable in Western Sacramentaries to have made most students of the subject feel quite sure that it was originally an integral part of the Gallican type of Liturgy, and to raise a strong suspicion that it once was a part of the Roman Liturgy too.

The object of Mr. Ffoulkes's book is first to prove that down to about the middle of the ninth century consecration of the eucharistic elements was universally held to be effected by a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that the words of institution were only used at the distribution of the consecrated elements to the communicants. Mr. Ffoulkes says (p. 418), 'invariably repeated by the celebrant in distributing.' This is certainly a slip; for the earliest account of the matter (Justin Martyr's) informs us that the distribution was made by the deacons. Secondly, he attempts to show by what means the theology of the whole Church has come to be altered, how the words of institution have had the consecrating efficacy attributed to them, and how the prayer of invocation has dropped out of all Western Liturgies. We are to believe that the whole of this mighty change has been brought about by the influence of the Clementine Liturgy! A summary sketch of part of Mr. Ffoulkes's theory appeared in his article 'Eucharist,' in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, which was partially dealt with in a former number of this Review (April 1882, *On the Clementine Liturgy*). His estimate of that Liturgy is thus stated in his present work (p. 212):—

'As an instrument put into the hands of the author of evil, and mainly through its insertion in a collection of ordinances supposed to be the work of the Apostles, this Liturgy may be called historically the *ἀρχὴ κακῶν* with perfect truth, the root of all the bloody controversies, and false doctrines, and interminable divisions, that have so long distracted Christendom, in connection with what Christ ordained for a sacrament of love.'

The following is an attempt to represent, we hope not unfairly, certainly not intentionally so, Mr. Ffoulkes's line of argument. This so-called Clementine Liturgy, we are told, is obviously an offspring of the Macedonian heresy, and was *very probably* composed by Eusebius of Emesa, who *must have* been a personal friend of Arius, and *may well* have spent his leisure in compiling the Apostolical Constitutions. He, however, apparently shrank from becoming known as the author of that work, but *may have* entrusted his friend George, Bishop of Laodicea, to bring it out after his death so as best 'to secure their incognito'; and the name of Clement *may have* suggested itself to one or both of them for that purpose. We *may suppose* George of Laodicea to have exhibited them as the work of Clement to Eustathius of Sebaste, and Eustathius in turn to S. Basil. We know further that S. Chrysostom was an admirer of, and

borrower from, Eusebius of Emesa. Thus it came to pass that the two eminent theologians, S. Basil and S. Chrysostom, fell victims to the fraud, and inserted the words of institution into the Liturgies called by their names, in imitation of and deference to this Liturgy of S. Clement, where for the first time they had appeared. S. Gregory the Great was similarly imposed upon in the West, and likewise inserted these words in the Latin Canon. Thus the words of institution found their way into the leading Liturgies of East and West, and gradually spread as these Liturgies superseded other local Liturgies, and, along with this change, a belief in their consecrating efficacy crept in and spread. As yet, however, the invocation was still left part of the Liturgy, and so far no irremediable harm had been done; and has not yet been done in the East. In the West it is otherwise. In the ninth century the influence of two 'second-rate French ecclesiastics,' Amalarius and Paschasius, effected the excision of the invocation from the Gregorian canon in France, and this Gallican revised form in time superseded the true Gregorian form of Canon.

The various steps of this theory are supported with enormous learning and equally enormous ingenuity. It is, however, so astonishing in its novelty, and parts of it appear to rest upon such a concatenation of pure, however ingenious, hypothesis, that we must refrain at present from giving it our adhesion. Time is required to test the grounds and the intricacies of such an argument. The impression left on one's mind is that 'may have' has a convenient facility of changing into 'must have,' and 'must have' into 'did.' The most satisfactory part of the work is that wherein the author produces evidence of the universal prevalence of the invocation in early times.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΒ' ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ. *La Didachè ou l'enseignement des douze Apôtres.* Texte Grec publié pour la première fois en France avec un commentaire et des notes, par PAUL SABATIER. (Paris : Fischbacher et C^{ie}, 1885.)

THE publication of the *Διδαχή* could not fail to excite the utmost interest in France, as well as in England, Germany and America; many are the reviews, articles, and notices to which it has given rise; and now it is our pleasant duty to say a few words of M. Sabatier's translation, a really scholarly work combining the clearness and lucidity of French criticism with the solid learning to which we are more accustomed here.

M. Paul Sabatier begins his *brochure* by a biographical sketch of the metropolitan bishop Bryennius, to whose industry and research the discovery of the treatise in question is due. He then enumerates the principal editions or translations of it, and, finally, he explains the plan adopted by himself in bringing out the *Didachè*. We all know that the Greek original gives no summaries at the commencement of the various breaks or subdivisions; M. Sabatier, however, has deemed, and, we think, very wisely, that concise headings would assist the student, and he represents the sixteen chapters as corre-

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sponding respectively to the following subjects :—i.-iv. the Two Paths, the Path of Life ; v. the Path of Death ; vi. General Counsels ; vii. Baptism ; viii. Prayers and Fasting ; ix. x. the Holy Eucharist ; xi.-xiii. Church Discipline ; xiv. the Observance of the Sunday ; xv. Ecclesiastical Offices ; xvi. Eschatology. M. Sabatier's arrangement includes, in the first place, the Greek text ; in the second, an annotated French translation ; in the last, a critical and historical commentary with numerous references to the best writers, both ancient and modern.

It will be more convenient, perhaps, to give here a kind of *résumé* embodying our author's views of the *Didachè*.

'The character,' says he, 'of the catechetical training it contains, its relation to an evangelical manual different from the synoptic Gospels, the simplicity of the baptismal and eucharistic rites, the fact that the ecclesiastical offices and dignities appear developing themselves side by side with the spiritual gifts, the well-defined eschatology, and, above all, the Judaical nature of the documents—all these circumstances take us back to the period of origins, when the Christian thought, still uncertain, formed a modified expression of Judaism rather than a new religion.'

To what class of persons was the *Didachè* chiefly addressed? Such is a subsidiary question put by M. Sabatier, and which it is interesting to discuss. The tendency has generally been, our author observes, to multiply the parties supposed to exist in primitive Christianity ; if we were to believe certain German divines, we should be led to suppose that the Apostolic Church was split up into a number of irreducible sects, and that, for instance, there could be no blending closely together, no harmonizing, of the views held by S. Peter and S. Paul. Against this teaching M. Sabatier protests, and he recognizes only the broad division between the Church and heathendom. The *Didachè* is supposed to be addressed to the heathen ; but must we understand this as strictly correct? If by heathen are meant the followers of the old Polytheism, why does not the author reveal to them, in the first place, the only God, living and true? He speaks of the Law, as if they knew it ; of the heathen (i. 4), as if they themselves did not belong to the same category. M. Sabatier is accordingly of opinion that the *Didachè* was meant chiefly, if not exclusively, for men such as the centurion Cornelius, who felt a vague attraction towards Monotheism. There were many such during the first century ; they prayed fervently, gave alms very liberally, and carried out those precepts of natural religion which Judaism supposes. They were pious heathens—Israelites at heart. Now, Syria was the country where most of these half-proselytes abounded ; we should remember that the Jews regarded the greater part of Syria as forming part of the Holy Land, sharing its prerogatives, its rights and its duties : we then can easily understand why the author of the *Didachè* did not think it necessary to enter into details respecting ideas and doctrines familiar to these proselytes of the gate.

There are some other points which may be noted as confirming the Syrian origin of this document : thus, the use of the word

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Christian, which was adopted in the first instance at Antioch; then we would mention the enumeration of the vices prevalent at the time, and *which are the sign of the ways of death*; if we turn to Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius*, iii. 58), Libanius (*Antiochicus*, pp. 355-356), Julian (*Misopogon*, Spanheim's edit. p. 367), we are led naturally to think, in connexion with that subject, of Antioch and its surroundings. Finally, the fact that the spiritual gifts recorded in the *Didachè*—those, namely, belonging to prophets and readers—correspond exactly to the allusions made in Acts xiii. 1, about the Church of Antioch, has also its importance. We might further note the expression *Christemporos*, which is found, besides, only in Gregory Nazianzen, where it occurs three times. M. Sabatier, therefore, is of opinion that the *Didachè*, written by a Jewish Christian, was composed in Syria towards the middle of the first century.

Of all the topics mentioned in the summary given at the commencement of this notice, the one on eschatology is perhaps the most important; the idea of death and of the last judgment is the centre, the cardinal doctrine of the document we are now considering. Two ways are open before man when he starts on his pilgrimage as a responsible being: on the one side is the path of life; on the other is the broad road which leads to destruction. The great thing is to make a good choice. We shall not be asked What have we thought, What are our theological views, How do we interpret this or that doctrine? but How have we lived? How have we dealt with our neighbours? 'The *Didachè*,' says M. Sabatier, 'takes no cognizance of heresy; it refuses communion, not to those who think amiss, but to those whose actions are evil; its anathemas are directed against *conduct*, not against *intellectual shortcomings*; the heresy it denounces is not *doctrinal* but *moral*, if we may use that epithet.'

We have thus endeavoured to state as clearly as we could M. Sabatier's views on the two chief topics connected with the *Didachè*—namely, (1) its origin; (2) the leading thought which has inspired it. Enough has been said to show that the pamphlet examined here deserves close and serious study; M. Sabatier is evidently a thorough Hebraist, and familiar with all the works of Buxtorf, Lightfoot, Vitringa, and all the great scholars of the seventeenth century.

Etude sur les Xétas. Par J. LIEBLEIN. (Leide: 1878.)

THIS essay has only come into our hands since the paper on the *New Hieroglyphics of Western Asia* was printed. Its learned author, Prof. Lieblein, the well-known Egyptologist, identifies the *Hetta*, the *Hattai*, and the *Hittim*. He argues that the Hittites were a Semitic race, who, before the Exodus (1355-1318 B.C.) lived about Hebron. Driven northward by the Hebrew invasion, they settled in the valley of the Orontes, only to be dislodged and pushed still further to the north by the Amorites. There, in the north-west of Syria, they rose to power on the ruins of the Retennu, who were dominant almost to the end of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty (1231 B.C.). In the course of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries the Hittites became

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so strong that they held the hegemony during the Syrian wars of Ramses II. (1180-1112 B.C.) and of Tiglath-Pileser I. (circ. 1130 B.C.), and are spoken of in the Bible as the chief people of Northern Syria (?), in the reign of Solomon (towards 950 B.C.), and of Jehoram (850 B.C.), (1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6; 2 Chron. i. 12). The chronology is Prof. Lieblein's own.

Account of a Visit to the Christian Churches in Cairo, 1884-5.
(London: 2 Dean's Yard, Westminster.)

THIS account is the Report rendered by the Rev. G. Greenwood (who went out to Cairo last winter as the representative of the 'Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt') of the work done by him in that country; and it is not often that a Report comprised within about twenty pages treats of matters of such varied and general interest. The condition of native Christianity, and especially of the Coptic priesthood; the relative positions of the Greek Orthodox patriarch and the Coptic patriarch, each claiming the patriarchal chair of Alexandria and all Egypt; the attitude of the Greeks on the one hand, and the Copts on the other, towards the English Church; the prospects of reunion between the Churches; the intrigues of Russia, the effects of English policy, the unjust disabilities imposed on the native populations; the practical measures to be taken for the spiritual upraising of the Coptic Church; and, lastly, the questions rising out of present abeyance of the Jerusalem bishopric: all pass rapidly across the stage, and are presented in such a form that they can hardly fail, we think, to attract the attention of politicians as well as Church-people.

The importance of the last-named topic—the Anglo-German Bishopric of Jerusalem—must be our excuse for adverting to it first of all. It is true, as Mr. Greenwood states at the beginning of page 25 of the Report, that no steps were taken to obtain 'either the advice or the sanction of the Eastern patriarchs with regard to the inception' of that bishopric. Still, it ought to be remembered, in justice to the rulers of the English Church at that time, that Bishop Alexander, the first occupant of the see, was induced to take out with him as his chaplain, the Rev. George Williams, whose interest in and knowledge of the Oriental Churches it was hoped would enable the Bishop to establish and maintain friendly relations with the Eastern ecclesiastical authorities. Unfortunately, the Bishop was a man who had never grasped the idea of 'one Catholic and Apostolic Church;' and the hope that the bishopric would become the medium of closer and more continuous intercourse between the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches was signally disappointed. Yet there can be no doubt that an Anglican see for the Levant, properly located, and instituted with the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities within whose jurisdictions its work would be carried on, would have that effect in a very high degree, if only the right man could be found to occupy it. We make no apology, therefore, for calling attention to the weighty words drawn forth by Mr. Greenwood from the Greek patriarch of Alexandria.

'He thought it desirable that there should be an English bishop for the shores of the Levant; but he did not consider that Jerusalem was the best place for his residence. He believed that either Alexandria or Cyprus would be a better position for the seat of the bishopric; and of the two he gave the preference to Alexandria. He added that, should Alexandria be fixed upon as the most suitable locality, he himself would welcome an English bishop there.'

Turning from the general question of the promotion of brotherly intercourse between the English Church and the Churches of the East to the particular case of Egypt, we notice that Mr. Greenwood seems to have fully appreciated the importance of an end being put to that isolation of the native Egyptian or Coptic Church from the rest of Christendom which, beginning directly after the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451, has been the parent of innumerable woes to the ill-fated country. He ventured to make appeals to both the patriarchs on this question; and succeeded in eliciting from the Greek patriarch not only a declaration of his own readiness to favour an attempt for the reunion of the Churches, but also an expression of his belief that 'if the English Church and Government would really take the matter in hand, what was desired could be carried out.'

On the side of the Coptic patriarch there was a reluctance to approach this subject, of which Mr. Greenwood has given the explanation in a curious, and hitherto, we believe, almost unwritten, page of ecclesiastical and political history. As the narrative is too long to be extracted, we must ask our readers to study it where it stands. We believe that if there be any who are inclined to think that England has incurred no obligations towards Egypt, and has a right to cast that country aside as if it were an expensive pastime of which it had grown tired, or at most a speculation which had turned out unsuccessful, he will rise from the perusal of these pages with deeper feelings and a truer sense of responsibility.

While gladly recognizing the signs of increasing life in the Coptic Church, in the opening of elementary schools, the holding of Bible classes, and the general desire among the younger laymen for greater enlightenment, Mr. Greenwood does not attempt to conceal the fact that his mission was a comparative failure as far as the ecclesiastical authorities were concerned. He found them, indeed, courteous and friendly, but they shrink from every offer of assistance, and could not be induced to suggest any remedies themselves for the acknowledged deficiencies of their Church. The most prominent evil is an ignorant and ill-paid priesthood, unable to teach and unwilling to learn: yet the patriarch could not be prevailed upon to listen to a proposal for the removal of this blot by the direct and obvious method of establishing a training college for the clergy. It is a matter for congratulation that, nothing daunted by this discouragement, Mr. Greenwood has seen his way to recommend a mode of overcoming the difficulty indirectly, which seems likely to be accepted and carried out. He proposes that a High Class Boys' School, for resident pupils, shall be established at Cairo under English man-

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agement, at which—combined with a first-rate secular education—sound religious and moral training shall be an essential feature of the course. He avoids the necessity of asking the sanction of any native ecclesiastical authority for this institution, by making it open to Mahommedans as well as to Christians of every denomination; while at the same time he shows that it would be the Coptic Christians who would most largely avail themselves of such a school, and that—from the peculiar manner in which their clergy are chosen—the education given in it could hardly fail, after a time, to make itself felt in the ranks of the priesthood. With regard to the religious instruction to be given under these circumstances, there is something at first sight almost startling in the directness with which Mr. Greenwood lays down the two apparently conflicting positions, that the managers of the school should be free to teach the Christian faith on distinct Church lines to *all* the pupils, at their discretion; and that, on the other hand, while at the school, no Christian child should be permitted to join the Church of England, or to attend her services, and no Mahommedan boy should be allowed to be baptized into the Church of Christ, except at the express request of his father or guardian. Yet we believe it will be found that the combination of those two rules necessarily results from the consideration of two great principles, each of them undeniable: viz. (1) that it is not the work of the Church to educate any child, except on the condition of trying to teach him the Catholic faith; and (2) that it is the natural right, or rather duty, of the parent or guardian to determine to what outward religious profession and form of worship the child shall conform, as long as he is *in statu pupillari*. Possibly a firmer grasp of these two principles would enable us to overcome religious difficulties which we meet with nearer home.

The Reformation Settlement: being a Summary of the Public Acts and Official Documents relating to the Law and Ritual of the Church of England, from A.D. 1509 to A.D. 1666. By J. LEWIS, M.A., LL.D. Camb., and of the Inner Temple. (Cambridge: Deighton, 1885.)

MORE than usual legal adroitness in manipulating his authorities has been shown by Dr. J. Lewis on *The Reformation Settlement*. Take the following specimens: 'It was not under Cranmer, but under . . . Warham . . . that the usurped papal supremacy was first abolished, and the King's, as representing the State, restored,' p. 25. The words italicized by us are an anachronism as regards 'the Reformation Settlement,' and for some time later. The title of the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy clearly disproves any such 'representation.' It runs: 'An Act restoring to the Crowne the ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing,' &c. The famous preamble to 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12, quoted on p. 28, is equally inconsistent with it, in which the bodies spiritual and temporal are contradistinguished as parts of the same body politic, with the King equally supreme over both, representing therefore not the latter in

his relation with the former, but only that 'plenary whole and entire power,' &c., with which he is 'instituted and furnished by the goodness and suzerainty of Almighty God.' The notion of the King representing the State—*i.e.* temporal power—in that relation is of modern growth, and of course is convenient for the modern lawyer's device of trampling out the liberties of the Church by the hoof parliamentary. Further, as regards the date: Warham died August 1532, and on March 30 following Cranmer was consecrated. The 'Submission of Clergy' Act, which gave the death blow to papal supremacy, was not brought into parliament until the following spring, and the first Act which directly struck at that authority, *re* Annates, received royal assent only in July of the same twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. Thus Dr. Lewis is guilty of two errors of fact in one sentence. Again, on p. 33 we read: 'No review of the old provincial constitutions and canons was ever made. The King perhaps never intended one.' On the contrary, the commission authorized for their review by 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, was the subject of further enactments in 1536, 1544, and 1545, and Strype (Cranmer, 133) states that the result, in the last named year or the next, was ready for the royal confirmation, but, not receiving it, was recommitted to a similarly formulated commission under Edward VI., which again reported an achieved result (the well-known book *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*).¹ Dr. Lewis, again, has evidently no notion whatever that it is gravely doubtful whether clauses 4, 5, and 6 of 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, (relating to Appeals), were agreed to by the clergy, or were foisted in without their consent. On these clauses rests the appeal 'for lack of justice,' and divers important constitutional considerations turn thereon.

The most astounding, however, of the statements in the volume is perhaps that in a note 23 on p. 190: 'The Acts of Uniformity sanctioning the public liturgy of the church were enacted by the crown and parliament without consulting Convocation at all.' With regard to the first Act of Uniformity, this is probably false; with regard to the last (14 Car. II. c. 4), it is certainly so. About forty-five lines of that statute are occupied by recitals on that behalf, ending with the words, 'That the said Books of Common Prayer, &c. . . . which have been so made and presented to His Majesty by the said Convocations, be the Book which shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate.'² The same statute commences by a reference to the fact that the Elizabethan order of Common Prayer was 'compiled by the Reverend Bishops and Clergy.' The Acts of Convocation, since

¹ The book was published in 1571 and in 1640 with this description, 'ex autoritate primum Regis Henrici VIII. inchoata, deinde per Regem Edwardum VI. provecta.' Perhaps there is some esoteric sense in which Dr. Lewis uses words, cognizable by lawyers only. To a common sense view they falsify the clearest and broadest facts.

² Dr. Lewis may see, if he will, in the last Report of the Commission on Ritual the nominal list of prelates and clergy who, on behalf of both Convocations, subscribed the present Book of Common Prayer before ever it was submitted to parliamentary view.

lost, were extant at the date of this statute. The statement is, however, probably false, but at any rate shows the belief as constitutionally entertained. After this exposure of utter untrustworthiness in so plain and notorious a matter, what can be expected but misrepresentation when we enter on the more debatable matters of the documents of Elizabeth's first decade? The audacious attempt to invest the Advertisements of 1566 with royal authority, as a taking of 'other' or 'further order' under the power reserved by the Act of Uniformity, is of course repeated. Their issue is described by Archbishop Parker to Cecil, March 28, 1566, as an 'assaye with *mine own* authority;' Dr. Lewis will have it an exercise of the Queen's. It is described by the same to Grindal under the same date as 'these *our* convenient orders;' Dr. Lewis will have it the Queen's orders. Indeed Parker's entire letter, of vital importance and decisive authority for the real character of the document, is entirely suppressed, except the last unimportant clause, calling upon his bishops comprovincial 'to cause the same to be performed in their several jurisdictions and charges.' At the same time a letter of Grindal's, May 21, 1566, is paraded, but notably misunderstood. The clause relied on is, 'that you enjoin every [minister] . . . to wear such habit and apparel as is ordained by the Queen's Majesty's authority expressed in the treaty [*i.e.* treatise], entitled the Advertisements.' The words 'ordained by,' &c., need not and do not refer the Advertisements to the Queen as her act, but assert that the 'habit,' &c., was so ordained, a statement founded on the injunctions of 1559, which had royal authority. And the following words, '*expressed* in the treaty,' &c., mean 'detailed' or 'particularized' therein—a sense of the word 'expressed' which is common in our English Bible. See Num. i. 17; 1 Chron. xii. 31; xvi. 41; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15; xxxi. 19; Ezra viii. 20. That Grindal meant to give the colour of royal authority to the text of the Advertisements themselves is very likely. Indeed, the title with which they were ultimately put forth by the Primat carries the same intention on the face of it. It is, 'Advertisements partly for due order in the public administration . . . and partly for the apparel of all persons ecclesiastical, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters commanding the same.' Here no doubt the intention was to leave 'the same' ambiguous. The phrase might convey the impression that the Advertisements themselves were referred to; in fact, it could only be truthfully asserted of the 'apparel,' or that and the 'due order in,' &c.; the (real or supposed) letter of the Queen insisting upon 'such order and uniformity . . . both for the Church and their own persons, as by laws, good usages, and orders are already established.' The last three words, assuming the letter authentic, are evidently fatal to the notion of 'other' or 'further order' being intended by it. But the true reference of 'the same' in the title above cited is made plain.

Similarly suppressed is the equally important evidence of the Archbishop's letter of the same date to his Dean of Peculiars, charging him to publish the Advertisements to the clergy of that jurisdiction, some of whom 'have not conformed themselves to the Queen's . . .

laws and injunctions in the administration . . . and in outward apparel . . . notwithstanding the said laws, &c., prescribed for *the same*.¹ This confirms the reference ascribed to 'the same' in the title aforesaid. The writer continues: 'I have sent you here a book of certain orders agreed upon by me and other of my brethren of my province of Canterbury,' with strict charge 'to observe as well her Majesty's said laws and injunctions in the administration . . . and in their extern apparel, *as also these orders* sent to you herewith.' It is utterly impossible for language to distinguish more clearly that which Dr. Lewis and the Privy Council lawyers confound—viz. the authority of the Queen from that of the writer and his comprovincials. Parker would doubtless have given the best tooth in his head to be able to call them the Queen's. He and Grindal, in the title and letter cited above, sail as near the wind as they dare, but, as we have seen, they just avoid the perilous edge by verbal dexterity. In the Archbishop's letters of publication, however, the distinction is unmistakable, and this paramount fact in evidence is precisely what Dr. Lewis suppresses. If he knew of it, why does he shirk it? If he knew not of it, his credit as a guide through the tortuous labyrinth of Tudor policy is gone.

And now for a few words on the supposed acts of the Crown in connexion with the Advertisements on which he relies for their royal character. The first is the supposed Queen's letter of January 25, 1564. Dr. Lewis says, 'On the 25th the Queen wrote to the Primate,' p. 232, and gives the tenor of a letter, with a passage cited from it, which should, would, and might have been *the* letter of royal direction to him to take a certain course, but for the all-important fact, as recorded by Mr. James Parker, that it lacks the royal sign manual, nowhere refers to the Act the power reserved under which it is supposed to embody, does not profess to be given under the signet, and is *not even dated*; but that 'Strype gives it a quasi-official character by inserting a heading,' which is 'really an endorsement or rather docket of the second or fair copy, and chiefly [clearly?] in a much later handwriting.'¹ Thus, when sifted down to the naked historical basis, this vaunted letter appears to be a mere dummy. Dr. Lewis shows throughout a familiarity with Mr. Parker's writings. Why then does he not meet this damning allegation? The other assumed royal basis is a statement from Strype that the Queen 'issued out her proclamation . . . so that now the wearing of apparel, &c., became absolutely enjoined.' Here Dr. Lewis notes that 'the said proclamation is not to be found in Dyson,' which 'throws a doubt in the opinion of many upon his [Strype's] statement.' He is, however, none the less sure that the 'Advertisements' were 'issued by the Queen's authority' (p. 244, note 160). Further on we read (p. 251, note 182): 'When the Queen's authority was given . . . does not appear.' He is, however, sure that 'by April 28 it must have been obtained.' But for the fact which he thus boldly states he adduces no evidence. He indeed adds that 'she had then *enforced the order* in the province of York.'

¹ Postscript to a Letter to Lord Selborne, pp. 126, 133.

If by 'enforcing the order' Dr. Lewis means 'causing the Advertisements to be issued,' why does he not plainly say so, and adduce evidence for the fact? When he has done this, we shall be glad to meet him upon it. Meanwhile the supposed *ex post facto* authorization by the Queen is as much *in nubibus* as the supposed previous royal letter. Thus on the piers of these two nonentities hangs that *pons asinorum* of the Judicial Committee, the royal character of the Advertisements. It is the 'elephant on the tortoise, and the tortoise on nothing,' at each end of the imposing structure. Let these suffice as specimens of the candour and care with which Dr. Lewis has performed his work. We should add that a second volume, with 'Appendices on Church Principles, &c.,' is promised in the preface, and that occasional references by anticipation in the notes to these appendices give an air of incompleteness to the present instalment of the work.

The Pontifical Decrees against the Doctrine of the Earth's Movement, and the Ultramontane Defence of them. By the Rev. WILLIAM W. ROBERTS. (Oxford and London : Parker and Co., 1885.)

SOME of our readers may remember that Mr. Roberts published in 1870 an essay on this subject, directed to prove that decrees drawn up by the various committees of Papal officers known in the Roman Curia as 'Congregations,' when confirmed by the Pope and published by his order, are Papal utterances *ex cathedra*, and thus, according to Roman dogma, certain to be infallibly true. This done, he applies the major premiss thus obtained to the case of the condemnation of Galileo, and shows that it falls under the rule. The result is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim to infallibility, since a scientific position now known to be true was certainly declared false by Papal authority. Mr. Roberts's pamphlet was replied to by the late Dr. Ward in the *Dublin Review* for 1871.

The line taken by the latter was to deny that the decree of the Congregation which condemned Galileo is to be taken as expressly Papal : it is to be taken as the decree of certain Cardinals, and no one doubts that Cardinals may make mistakes ; and secondly, to put forward the very 'strange contention' (as Mr. Roberts not unnaturally calls it), that the decision, whoever was responsible for it, was no mistake properly speaking, *because at that time it could not be proved that the earth moves !*

'Desperate indeed must be the cause,' exclaims Mr. Roberts, 'that stands in need of such monstrous doctrine.' He has no difficulty in showing that the motion of the earth had, in fact, been shown to be highly probable, and that this remarkable argument cannot be sustained. Respecting the question of fact, he shows, we think, that the decree of the Index in 1616 'was formally submitted to the Pope and published by his express order.' But this is not all. The demand of the opponents has always been 'for some officially published document attesting the Pope's confirmation of the anti-Copernican decrees.' The last thing, no doubt, that they expected to see was a Bull to that effect. But there was in fact a Bull put

forth in 1664 by Alexander VII. as preface to a new *Index Librorum prohibitorum*, adopting and attesting the same. This is not quite the same thing as a complete and formal proof (of a thing which no one can really doubt, viz.), that the condemnation of Galileo was effected by all the plenitude of the Papal authority; but it comes very near it, and ought to close the mouths of those who have hitherto maintained the contrary, though we do not suppose it will. The citation of the Günther decree, and of the episode of the Louvain professors, however interesting, does not seem to bear a very close analogy to the matter in hand, and it would have been better to throw it less into the foreground of the argument. As a repertory of facts and documents bearing on the case of Galileo, this book is certainly valuable.

The Kingdom of God Biblically and Historically considered: the Tenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1884.)

'WHEN the task of Christian life,' says Dr. Candlish, in the fourth of the lectures before us, 'is contemplated from the standpoint of the Church, it must be expressed somewhat in this way, that we are to aim at making the actual as like the ideal as possible, the Church visible as like as may be to the Church invisible, one, holy, catholic, apostolic. That is true, and that representation may be made to indicate all the duties of Christians as members of the Church or religious society instituted by Christ. But then it only includes their duties as members of a religious society, and not as members of the family, the State, and other lawful and Divinely sanctioned societies; and so either the ideal is too narrow or the Church must be made to dominate over all other societies. The notion of the kingdom of God, however, in the sense of Jesus is wide enough to include all the relations of life, and the promotion of it is an adequate expression of the task of Christian life' (p. 204).

The following remarkable results emerge from Dr. Candlish's analysis: first, that Christ instituted a 'Church' or 'religious society'; and secondly, that this society is *not* the 'kingdom of God' of which He spoke. This conclusion is still more surprising when we find Dr. Candlish confessedly unable to deny that the Apostles and other believers who lived in that and the following generation certainly did identify the Church as an institution with the kingdom of God, and that he is only able to account for the fact by alleging that 'the Church very soon ceased to understand the real meaning of the Pauline doctrines; and in the writings of even the best of the Fathers we find an external, shallow, distorted conception of Christianity taking the place of the profound, spiritual, and far-reaching ideas of the New Testament,' and even hinting that he can 'recognize traces of this process in the writings of the Apostles who enjoyed the special enlightenment of the Holy Spirit' (p. 184).

Habemus confitentem reum. It is manifest, we think, that a theory which can only establish itself at the cost of maintaining such difficult—we will venture to say, if Dr. Candlish will permit us—such *improbable* opinions, stands self-condemned. We can hardly feel

much surprise, that having such an idea as this to start with, the main result of the 423 pages before us should be that every existing theory of the Church is defective or wholly wrong: that Christ came to preach the 'kingdom of God,' that men have not yet found out what that is, and all their tentative solutions of the problem have proved incorrect.

It would perhaps not be fair to describe these lectures as constituting a manifesto against the Scottish Establishment on the part of the Voluntary party, of which Dr. Candlish is so prominent a leader. But unquestionably he frequently takes (or makes) occasion to let fly a shaft at this envied rival. He thinks that 'the old Covenanters would not recognize the modern State Church system as at all an adequate realization of their ideal, nor has the alteration been in all respects for the better.' The modern scheme shows 'degeneracy.' It is a 'compromise.' Nay, he even doubts whether any union between Church and State is in itself lawful, 'whether the solemn act of covenant with God has sufficient warrant, apart from such a special Divine government as Israel was under' (p. 329); or, in other words, he would maintain that every Christian nation throughout the world ever since the time of Constantine—that is, for 1,500 years and more—has been in serious error upon this very point; and it has been left for a thinker in a petty Scottish sect to proclaim the truth: which is of course possible, but hardly probable.

We have here the true Free Church ring, and doubtless the lectures will be found an armoury of reasons for the Liberationist lecturer. But in so much as the volume is successful as a partisan statement, it will, we imagine, fall short of attaining permanent rank as a dispassionate examination of the great subject announced on its title page. It was a great opportunity, and it is always a pity to see a great opportunity lost.

The Doctrine of Divine Love; or, Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church. By ERNEST SARTORIUS, Court Preacher at Königsberg. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1884.)

THIS is a work which we can commend almost without reserve, not because the doctrinal results reached are in every case *explicitly* adequate or complete, but because it is a worthy development of a very noble thesis, and proceeds on accurate lines of thought throughout, though in several particulars, as we shall endeavour to show, they are not followed out with logical completeness.

To conceive of the entire science of theology as being the expression of the Divine love is a deep and fruitful principle, and the work in which it is systematically carried out derives thereby a very high value. We are not speaking of it as if it were new, for it is, on the contrary, one of the deep intuitions of S. John (if, indeed, we should not rather speak of it as the most great and luminous of all the *revelations* made to him, that 'God is love,' (1 S. John iv. 7). 'This apophthegm of the Holy Ghost in which all theology is enclosed,' says our author, 'comes from the depths of Deity. It is a God-given axiom, which we cannot surpass, but from which we start; *it is*

the principle of our science, as it is also the principle of all existence and life ; but as God is God just because He is love, so too does every creature exist through His love.'

This is the clue which the author endeavours with great success to hold fast throughout his scheme of theology. First he finds love as the principle and *primum mobile* of the Divine Being, and shedding a flood of light on the mystery of the Divine Trinity. An examination follows of man as originally created and endowed, *i.e.* of the Divine image in man, and the state of innocence. Next, following here an historical order rather than a logical, which would have treated here of the Divine love in action, *viz.*, of righteousness in general, he treats of the subversion of this original righteousness, and of sin in general, considered as the antithesis to Divine love. The third section treats of the Divine love as *reconciling*. Christ, the God-man, and therefore the reconciler between God and man ; the *method* of his reconciliation in the Incarnation and Atonement ; the *progress* of the reconciliation, in which the Holy Spirit is the Divine worker. This, considered *objectively*, embraces the Sacraments and means of grace in the Christian Church ; and *subjectively*, the appropriation thereof through the faith of the individual (justification). The following section is entitled of Divine love *renewing*, and treats of sanctification, of the part which *obedience* has to perform in this process, and this gives occasion to explain the nature of the law of God as contained in the Decalogue ; and lastly, we have a section on Divine love *perfecting* ; the nature of the saintly and Christian character is, however, not completely treated. Other defects in this scheme are obvious ; the arbitrary separation of justification and sanctification, and the dislocation of the latter from the perfecting action of the love of God, of which in fact it consists ; the only difference being that it is looked upon in the former instance from the side of the Divine, in the latter from that of the human. Nor, as we are prepared to anticipate, are the sections on the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, really complete and adequate ; notwithstanding a remarkable approximation to the Catholic standpoint, of the Apostolic succession, in the sense of the Church Universal, he has naturally nothing to say. But on the whole it is, as we have said, a wonderfully able and suggestive treatment of that which is the loftiest theme of theology, and we have no hesitation in bespeaking for it the favourable attention of our readers.

What is not less striking is the unmistakable preference for an older and purer type of doctrine than has of late prevailed in the German Evangelical Confession. 'We have recently,' says Dr. Sartorius, 'so deeply declined from the dogmatic and ethic fundamental notions of the Church, that nothing could be more opportune than to endeavour to work ourselves up to them again, to re-open these closed-up living streams, and to conduct them into the furrows of the dried-up pastures of the world.' 'Let those,' he continues, 'who measure even the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Eternity, by time, imagine themselves the *masters* of past ages, I will remain a *disciple* not only of prophets and apostles, but of fathers and reformers.'

He regards his own communion as 'not a separate confession, but as a branch of the Œcumenical Christian Church, which only lives and thrives in the common trunk of Christian antiquity and the Œcumenical creed.'

Such sentiments are worthy of notice and praise. We were indeed not unaware of the fact that Dr. Sartorius was pre-eminently what we may call a High Lutheran, and it may be that such views are individual peculiarities rather than typical of a class; but if it should be the case that such views as these are held by many theologians in the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the fact is one of good augury for the prospect of an eventual undoing of the deplorable schisms which have sent Christendom into pieces.

Memoirs by Mark Pattison, late Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.
(London: Macmillan, 1885.)

WE have read this book with very sincere regret. The late Rector of Lincoln enjoyed a high but somewhat misty reputation. It is true there was not much that could be shown to justify it; for his works, though scholarly and interesting, were few; and they were rather meagre results to be the products of a long life of literary labour, spent amidst all the advantages of a great university, and scarcely disturbed by the discharge of any active duty. But his friends gave him credit for a large reserve of latent power, and set him forth for admiration as one of the last surviving specimens of the old race of scholars who valued learning for its own sake, and were careless of the meed of popular applause. Undoubtedly there must have been some hidden charm concealed beneath that unattractive exterior, or he could scarcely have secured the friendship of such men as Dean Church—almost the only man he speaks well of through the whole of this acrid volume (pp. 163, 291)—or could have attracted the loyal regard of at least one generation of the undergraduates of Lincoln. Unhappily, he has disclosed himself in these posthumous memoirs with a pitiless self-analysis, which goes far to move the compassion even of those to whom the self-drawn picture is least pleasing. Those who knew him in his youth, and now wish to think kindly of his memory, must be disappointed to find that he has himself done much to exculpate a popular novelist, who had incurred general obloquy for drawing of him what most people regarded as a cruel caricature. In these pages he has written himself down as the victim at once of conceit and self-distrust; his unhappy discontent, with rare intervals, most sleepless, jealous, and indiscriminating; his knowledge, multifarious as it was, and ranging as it did over the lives and works of many scholars, having certainly no tendency to mollify his manners, or to teach him modesty in measuring himself against other members of his university, who were his undoubted superiors in ability and learning.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the book is the author's strange and unconscious inconsistency. After toiling for years in vain to reach the haven of a Fellowship, he found refuge at last in a county claim at Lincoln, and then, in later life, he dwells on the abo-

lition of close fellowships, and the sweeping away of local claims, as a reform of the highest educational value (p. 304). He is extremely indignant because Dean Stanley was preferred to him at University in defiance of the limitations of a college statute (pp. 175-7); and he is equally irate because Mr. Goldwin Smith was passed over in an Oriel election, in compliance (as is well known) with what the Oriel authorities believed to be the explicit directions of their college statutes. Judged by the Lesbian rule of his standard, the men of Oriel were as culpable for complying with the wishes of their founder, as the men of University were to blame for neglecting them. It is difficult to understand how a man of any elevation of mind, or any insight into the true bearing of character and conduct, could have written out for posthumous publication the dreary narrative of the doings of that miserable night in November, 1851 (pp. 277-287), when the College party, which had unhappily submitted to his guidance—a party containing some men who have long outlived his influence, and are now deservedly held in honour—the party professedly of light and leading, inspired with all manner of aspirations for reform—combined with him to place in the rectorial chair, the loss of which he apparently owed mainly to his own temper, a man whom he has now the indecorum, after at last succeeding him, to describe as ‘a mere ruffian,’ ‘nothing better than a satyr’ (pp. 288-290); this ruffian, this satyr, being the person for whom he and his friends had given their votes, to keep out a confessedly more respectable candidate belonging to the opposite party. There is something singularly unlovely in the way in which he habitually speaks of his father (pp. 24, 39, 60, 113, &c.), and his sister Dorothy (‘Sister Dora,’ pp. 3, 61). For instance, he says on one occasion that his father wrote him ‘one of his disagreeable letters, overflowing with pious resignation and moroseness’ (p. 179). There is something repulsive, when contrasted with his later career, in the diary which he transcribed for publication of his stay under the roof of Dr. Newman, at Littlemore (pp. 190-207). We cannot doubt that many will resent the injustice which he perpetrates (p. 189) against his benefactor (p. 180) Dr. Pusey; or the indirect affront which he offers (p. 227) to the honoured character of Mr. Keble. In 1840, he says, ‘We were all proud of Michell’ (p. 217). In 1851, when he had lost the rectorial election, he describes either Michell or a less-known Fellow of Lincoln, Mr. Kettle, it is not quite clear which, as his ‘Satan.’ ‘My Satan had triumphed’ (by his own vote, be it remembered, and the votes of his friends), ‘and had turned my little Paradise into a howling wilderness. It was the return to the reign of the satyrs and wild beasts. Thompson’ (whom he had himself elected to keep out Michell’s friend) ‘was nothing better than a satyr’ (p. 290). Sometimes this unhappy temper takes the form of an angry impatience of criticism. As regards his article in *Essays and Reviews*, he complains of the ‘chorus of blatant and ignorant howling with which his poor venture was received’ (p. 315). Sometimes it reveals itself in mere insult against any who opposed him; as when he accuses an unlucky Fellow, living in the country, whom he describes by an altogether unjustifiable

epithet, as 'always glad to come and booze at the college port a week or two when his vote was wanted in support of old abuses' (p. 218); though, of course, the poor man had to pay for his port, and no doubt could have found some equally 'unexceptionable' in his country retirement. In this history of his life for nearly fifty years, he never once directly mentions his ordination; it is only by rare incidental notices that we could find he was in Orders (pp. 179-80, 197, 261); and no one could conjecture from these memoirs that at the time when he wrote them he had been nearly a quarter of a century at the head of an ecclesiastical corporation, and by virtue of his office the rector of a country parish. In fact, it is not easy to realize that we are dealing with a clergyman at all, when we read his frequent taunts against 'the canker of ecclesiasticism, which excludes all intelligent interests' (p. 89); or against men like the three Oriel tutors who were 'all of them priests, narrow and desperate devotees of the clerical interest' (p. 97). But indeed the whole book bristles with matter for offence and objection; and the only possible gain that can follow from its publication is the additional discredit it will throw on the issue of those weary reminiscences and memorials, which are rapidly securing a foremost place among the griefs and scandals of our time.

The History of Religion in England. By HENRY OFFLEY WAKEMAN, M.A. (London: Rivingtons, 1885.)

MR. WAKEMAN'S little book is the third of a series called *Highways of History*, edited by Mrs. Mandell Creighton, and in its space of one hundred and thirty pages conveys a great deal of information. Readers of larger volumes, and indeed all persons who are dubious concerning manuals, will dislike its restriction of treatment where fuller instruction is required. But author and editor may well plead the demands of modern inquirers with scanty time at their disposal, who are easily moved by newspaper paragraphs, and for whom it would be useless to provide any elaborate vindication of ecclesiastical rights and claims. The Church of Britain, of early England, of the Middle Ages, of the Reformation, is dealt with in successive chapters in evident continuity, and the rise of Puritanism, with most of its later manifestations, is treated fairly and discriminately. The Nonjurors (pp. 94, 95) have a just meed of praise, and their loss is deplored as 'of the utmost consequence to the Church.' 'Strictness of life, earnestness of purpose, attachment to Church principles, and power of self-sacrifice,' were indeed desired in that time of 'luxury, self-seeking, and indifference.' The defects of the Evangelical movement are truly, not unkindly, stated in a paragraph which, perhaps above all, will awaken controversy and denial (p. 113). Its failure in intellectual force, producing 'no theologian even of the second rank,' is a literary and historic fact, to be faced and accounted for; nor can our admiration of the Evangelical leaders disguise the conviction that 'from the time when the Church was mainly under their influence the separation between religion and learning . . . may be dated—a separation which the deeper learning and freer sympathy of our own day has only been able partially to heal' (p. 114).

Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics, embracing the Myths, Traditions, Superstitions, and Folk-Lore, of the Plant Kingdom. By RICHARD FOLKARD, jun. (London : Sampson Low and Co., 1884.)

To all lovers of flowers (and the majority of our readers must be such) this volume will be welcome, comprising as it does a mass of floral knowledge second only to that of *De Gubernatis*. The Indian 'lore' is a great addition to the book, and no one who is at all attracted by it can fail to be astonished at the care and patience bestowed by Mr. Folkard on his inexhaustible subject. The first part is amusingly concerned in sixteen chapters with all kinds of flower legends and ceremonies, plants sacred and profane, Christian and pagan, Indian tree-spirits, and German tree-ghosts, plants of the Devil—beloved by or inimical to him. Then follows an encyclopædia of six hundred plants, English and foreign, giving their myths, symbolism, and history. The illustrations are interesting, many of them being reproductions from old treatises. 'The Garden of Eden,' which adorns the frontispiece, is a copy from Parkinson's *Paradisus*, published 1656. The Relics of the Crucifixion, with 'a croune of the braunches of Albespyne, that is, White Thorne,' the Tree of Judas Iscariot, the Sacred Lamb Tree, and Dead Sea Fruit, all taken from Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*, are most quaint. There is a good engraving of Father Garnet's Straw (p. 135), and the legend in connexion with it is given at length. The abundance of matter, extending over nearly a thousand pages, cannot be digested by any ordinary habit of reading; but the book is worthy of being close at hand for reference, and we think it will always be consulted with profit, and returned to with increasing delight, as the extraordinary wealth of its contents is gradually learned.

Fénelon à Cambrai. D'après sa Correspondance. Par le PRINCE EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. (Paris : Plon, Nourrit, and Co., 1884.)

PRINCE EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE'S new work is one which will no doubt awaken much sympathy and be extensively read. Fénelon has in the most opposite corners of the Christian Church ardent admirers, and, as a matter of course, severe enemies. By some he is only considered as a dreamy mystic, the friend of Madame Guyon and the champion of *l'amour pur*; others praise him chiefly for his antagonism to the Jansenists; freethinkers almost claim him as their own, and see in him only the victim of Bossuet's arrogance; political reformers would fain push him forward as a kind of precursor of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, a socialist whose Salentum was a species of anticipated Icaria which M. Cabet afterwards perfected. Hence the natural result that Fénelon is not yet known as he should be, and that his place in the history of the Gallican Church has still to be fixed.

Our author well remarks that the publication of Saint Simon's *Memoirs* was the first literary work which helped to throw light upon the true character of the Archbishop of Cambrai; it led earnest and serious students to turn for better information to Fénelon's writings, and to read, especially, his voluminous correspondence. Those who

have had leisure to do so must have been struck by the difference which exists between the *legendary* prelate, if we may use such an expression, and the real Fénelon ; those whose want of time has not enabled them to study, pencil in hand, these interesting letters, and who, nevertheless, are interested in the history of France and of the French Church during the second half of the reign of Louis XIV., should take up the interesting volume published by Prince Emmanuel de Broglie, and we can safely promise them a rich intellectual treat.

It would seem at first that we have here only a small portion of Fénelon's life, and the opportunity therefore of studying only one phase of his character. This is a mistake. It is after his disgrace that the archbishop's nature manifested itself in all the variety of its tendencies, and it required the fierceness of the most unjust persecution to show the patriotism, the depth of feeling, the disinterestedness, and the piety of which he was capable. The interest which arises from strong contrasts is evident especially throughout the whole period of Fénelon's residence at Cambrai.

Prince de Broglie's programme included neither an account of Fénelon's theological discussions with Bossuet nor the early stages of the Duke of Burgundy's education, nor, finally, what may be called the *brilliant* portion of the prelate's life. It is the epoch of trial which we are asked to contemplate, that epoch which is the touchstone of all loyal souls, the test of all true greatness. The work begins by a sketch of the archbishop's life at Cambrai ; his daily habits, his household, his style of living, &c. We are introduced to his family and his friends, the Abbés de Langeron, de Beaumont, and de Chantérac ; then, travelling from Flanders to Versailles, we once more make the acquaintance of the admirers he had left at Court, especially the Dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, already so well known to us through Saint Simon's Memoirs. Gradually the picture becomes more and more gloomy, death strikes down ruthlessly both *Monseigneur* and the Dauphin, the horrors of war visit the diocese of Cambrai, one by one Fénelon's friends are removed from his side, all intercourse with the Court comes to an end, and the prelate, wholly absorbed by his episcopal duties, weary of this world, its allurements and its deceptions, ends peacefully a life which, with all its shortcomings, may well be proposed as an example to all Christians.

Étude sur l'Origine et le Développement de la Théologie Apostolique.
Thèse présentée à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris.
Par H. BLANC-MILSAND, Pasteur. (Paris : A. Fischbacher, 1884.)

M. BLANC-MILSAND has recently gained in Paris the honourable degree of *Licencié-en-Théologie* with the help of a dissertation or thesis which we would attempt to notice in the pages of this Review. Taking for his subject the origin and development of the apostolic theology, he begins by stating that on this important point the controversy has shifted its position almost entirely, and that the ques-

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tion to be examined is quite different from what it was half a century ago.

During the sway of the Tübingen school the problem amounted to this : Were the apostolic writings indeed authentic ? Did they not rather give the result of the fermentation of the Jewish mind, and the evolutions of religious thought, during about a century and a half, beginning at the moment when the powerful personality of Jesus had inspired with fresh hopes those who awaited the appearance of a Messiah—hopes stimulated by the calamities which visited Israel ?

The epoch of historical discussions, says M. Blanc-Milsand, is well-nigh closed ; and although a certain number of problems still remain to be solved, yet we may consider the ground as sufficiently cleared. It may be assumed that for the majority of theologians and *savants* the authenticity of the books which make up the New Testament is a well-established fact ; they are anterior to the first century, and were written by the authors under whose name they generally appear.

The question to be discussed now can be thus stated : Are the doctrines put forth in the apostolic writings the real expression of the Master's thought ? What share have notions foreign to Christianity had in the putting forth of Christian ideas ? We must determine to what extent outward circumstances, and each author's personal character, have altered or modified Christian views ; in one word, we must study in all its forms and throughout all its possible ramifications the following problem : How and with what amount of faithfulness and accuracy have the apostolic writings transmitted to us Jesus Christ's teaching ?

The dissertation we are now noticing is divided into three parts : as there were two intellectual worlds at the time when the apostles began to preach, so there were two modes of discussion, two lines of argument, if we may use such an expression. The reasoning which would convince a heathen might naturally be supposed to leave a Jew untouched. But further, and limiting ourselves for the present to the special topic of Judaism—although, of course, it is useful to note what the deutero-canonical writings, the rabbinical treatises, and the Talmud itself have to say by way of illustrating certain Christian doctrines—we must take care, first, not to regard as the expression of Jewish thought contemporary with the Lord works which belong in reality to a later epoch ; second, not to consider as the general opinion of contemporaneous Judaism what were merely the private ideas of this or that rabbi. In accordance with this plan our author examines in succession the theology of S. James and that of S. Peter, showing how the one supplements the other, and yet how both need some further element which shall give them the harmony, the completeness, they still lack.

With the apostle Paul we come beyond the limits of Judaism. We enter into the Gentile world. The training of S. Peter and S. John, and the immediate disciples of the Lord, was a progressive one ; the entrance of Gamaliel's pupil into the Christian Church was abrupt ; the most sudden transition changed into a faithful follower

of Christ the once bitter enemy of the new faith. M. Blanc-Milsand insists especially upon this fact, that S. Paul transferred Christianity from the traditional ground of the law and the prophets to that of conscience itself. In addressing the Romans, the Greeks, and the non-Judaic converts, to whatsoever nationality they belonged, he could not place himself at another standpoint; and whilst the other members of the apostolic college gave to the evangelical doctrine an essentially historic character, his preaching and teaching were, if we may so say, psychological. And here the opportunity suggests itself of drawing a comparison between the Pauline theology and the Judæo-Hellenic doctrines on God, the world, and man, which found their most popular exponent in the writings of Philo. All this part of M. Blanc-Milsand's disquisition is very interesting, and shows on the part of the author much real scholarship.

We have said that the essay under consideration is divided into three parts; the third relates to the apostle S. John, whose theological views our author regards as a continuation or development of those of S. Paul. The method or plan alone has changed. Whilst S. Paul takes as his starting-point the idea of our Lord considered in His humanity, and then rises gradually to the conception of His eternal pre-existence, S. John adopts the diametrically opposite course, and puts forth the eternal pre-existence of the Logos as the first link in his chain of argumentation.

In discussing the question of the Logos itself, which is so especially identified with the teaching of S. John, it is impossible to avoid examining the origin of that doctrine. M. Blanc-Milsand does so in detail, tracing it back to the Old Testament and to the monuments of rabbinical literature; he then turns once more to Philo, and dwells upon the glaring contradictions which that philosopher allows when he endeavours to explain the action of God in the world: 'Where we expected to find the idea of a personal power, of a real hypostasis, we are in the presence of the mere notion of an abstract and impersonal force. Where we looked for a simple *δύναμις*, the theory offered to us is, on the contrary, that of a person; and when we look into it more closely, it appears that that person is no person at all.'

M. Blanc-Milsand's concluding chapter sums up the discussions which form the subject of his learned and most interesting volume. Each one, he says, of the authors whose writings make up the New Testament must not be considered as forming a separate and distinct chapter; we should not talk of the theology of S. Peter as different from that of S. Paul, that of S. James, or that of S. John. They are all connected together as the various parts of one symmetrical edifice; they have in the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ their inspiring principle and their common origin.

The Antiquities of Hastings and the Battle-field. By THOMAS HOLWELL COLE. (Hastings, 1884.)

THIS is a new and enlarged edition of a well-written book by a local antiquary on the history and topography of a part of the coast which

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is interesting in many ways. We scarcely allow the 'bare possibility' claimed by Mr. Cole for the landing-place of Julius Cæsar having been in the neighbourhood of Hastings. But doubtless in Roman times Hastings began to be a place of importance, and later on its importance as one of the Cinque Ports, the precedence of which it disputes with Dover, grew and continued until, through the double process of the encroachment of the sea water on the old town, and of the sea beach on the harbour, it ceased to be a port. The various phases of its fortunes have been carefully investigated and clearly described by Mr. Cole.

But the crowning interest of Hastings arises from its association with the momentous encounter named after it, which so powerfully and so enduringly influenced the destinies of England. The story of the battle is ably illustrated by reference to the famous Bayeux tapestry, and the 'Roman de Rou,' and the description of the battlefield is the work of a competent guide.

NEW EDITIONS, SERMONS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

An Altar-Book, in small folio, in double columns, beautifully printed in a large type on good paper (and containing the Order of Confirmation, the Marriage Service, and the Ordinal), has been published by Messrs. Bosworth. It will make a most valuable present for a church, or for a clergyman. The Prayer of Consecration is set out, as it ought to be, in enlarged type on one opening of the pages. Such a book has long been wanted, and is now supplied, not by the Universities or the Queen's Printers, but by a private publisher.

A Father in Christ (Rivingtons) is the title of Dr. Liddon's most admirable sermon at the consecration of the Bishops of Lincoln and Exeter. It is an unanswerable exposition of the theory of Episcopacy. A second edition has already appeared, prefaced by a crushing reply to Dr. Hatch's criticism on the sermon in the *Contemporary Review*. This reply is longer than the sermon itself, and is scarcely less valuable than the original document.

We strongly commend to our readers' attention a most valuable general review of the whole subject of 'Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister,' by Philadelphus (Hamilton, Adams, and Co.); and also an important pamphlet, *Marriage Laws in the United States and their Results* (Vacher and Co.), showing, from American sources, the fatal consequences of any tampering with the Law of Marriage.

Among Charges, that of Archdeacon Hessey, *How the Church's Position should be defended* (Thomas Scott), and that of Archdeacon Hannah, *The Pulpit, the Cathedral, and the School* (Treacher), are especially worth reading. Canon Wordsworth's sermon, *Love and Discipline* (Rivingtons), preached in Lincoln Cathedral on the Sunday after his father's funeral, is a touching biographical record of the good bishop.

Dr. Heurtley has published a useful translation of *The Tome of S. Leo* (Parker), with an Introduction.

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